OUR CITIES AWAKE

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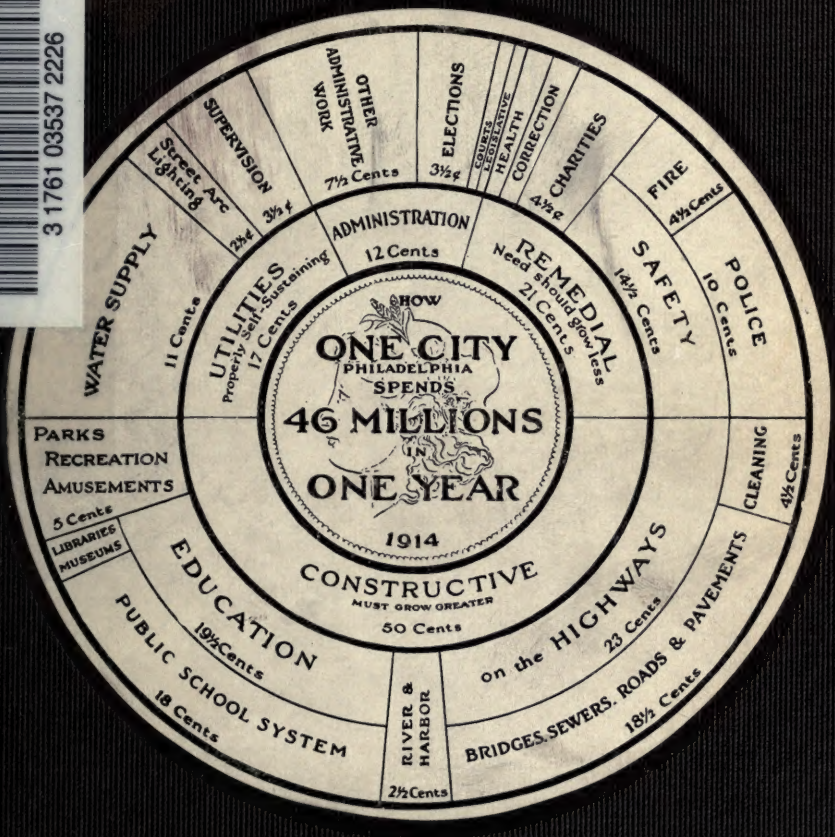

By

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE

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OUR CITIES AWAKE

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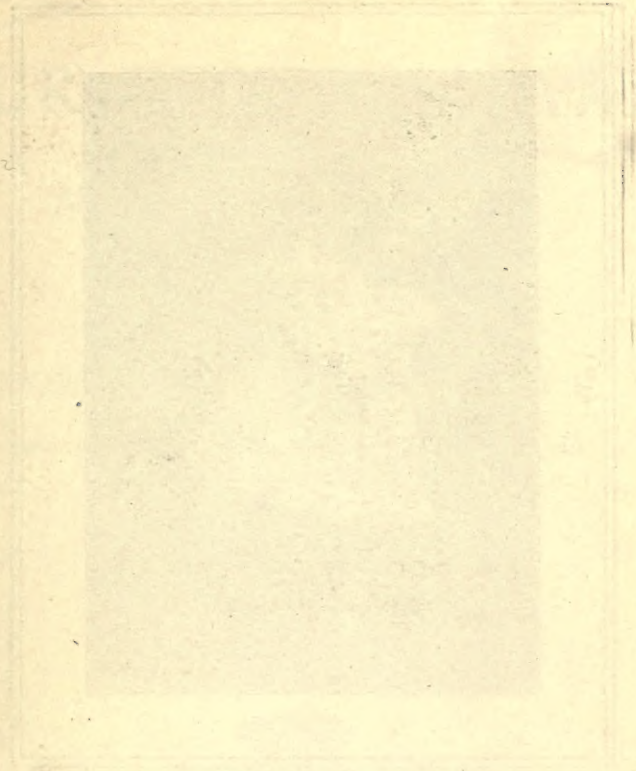

Fellow Citizens: What Will You Make of Me?

The efficiency of a community should not be gauged by the length of its "improved" water-front, the number of tall factory chimneys, and the size of its daily bank clearances; but by the answer to the question: "Does it afford a good setting for children and a good place for their up-bringing?"

THE SEED OF CIVIC RIGHTEOUSNESS FLOWERS IN ITS FUTURE CITIZENS

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DISCARDED

OUR CITIES AWAKE

Notes on Municipal Activities and Administration

Econ

BY

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE, M. E.

CONSULTING ENGINEER

FORMERLY DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC WORKS, CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

WITH A FOREWORD BY

NEWTON D. BAKER

SECRETARY OF WAR

FORMERLY MAYOR OF CLEVELAND

Many Illustrations from Photographs

GARDEN CITY NEW YORK

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY

1918

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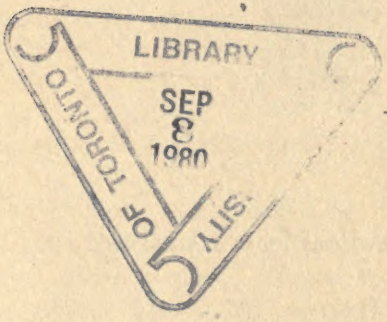

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PREFACE

THE problem of city administration in this country is so largely in flux that any book dealing with it must necessarily be only suggestive. The trend toward expert service in this field is unmistakable. But that our various municipal activities are in the hands of self-trained or untrained men is almost as true to-day as it was a generation ago. Nothing has been developed to the point where it may be considered a finished product.

The Department of Public Works of the City of Philadelphia, during the four years of the administration of Rudolph Blankenburg as Mayor, when the author was its director, employed over 4,000 men and women. The building and maintenance of roads and streets, sewers and bridges; the filtering and distribution of the water supply; the construction and maintenance of public buildings; the oversight of all public lighting; and many other minor functions were entrusted to its care.

In the following pages an effort has been made to record informally some of the steps taken to raise the work of the department to a higher level. During the period covered over $45,000,000 was expended under the direct supervision of men who recognized few of the trammels of those whose lives have been spent in the municipal service. In the preparation of the manuscript the freest use has been made of material originally prepared for official reports and other documents issued while the author was an occupant of the Philadelphia City Hall.

It has seemed wise to free the text from individual credits.

The system under which our work was done made it possible usually to identify the employee responsible for any given improvement. The author will be glad to give to those interested the names of the officials and other employees specially conversant with any part of the work.

Once again it is pleasant to recall that in the Department of Public Works in Philadelphia, 1912-1916, our staff was made up of a peculiarly able, versatile, and loyal group of engineers and other technicians. It is hoped that a running record of some of the experiences and accomplishments of this group as a background for a book on city making may not be without interest and value.

In collating the material for this book, Mr. Henry G. Hodges, who acted as Special Inspector in my office during a part of 1915, and who left us to join the teaching staff of the Political Science Department, Western Reserve University, has very materially assisted me. In fact, had it not been for his willingness to help in its preparation I am quite sure that I would not have undertaken the book.

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE.

Washington, D. C.,
August 1, 1918.

FOREWORD

THE United States is involved in the greatest war in the history of mankind. The object of that war is, not to change the boundaries of states, but to lay the foundation and create the possibility of a real peace, a peace which will mean not merely the cessation of fighting but such a vindication of the principles of justice among nations as will cause a continuing state of peace to follow naturally from the international relations established by the war.

Ferrero has recently said that we are fighting for the right to have qualitative, rather than quantitative, civilization; that is to say, we want this war brought to such a conclusion as will exonerate mankind for the future from the necessity of devoting a major part of its time to the accumulation of lethal weapons for the conduct of future combats on land and sea and in the air. We want to establish among men the opportunity to create great things, rather than merely large things, to multiply comforts and the means of happiness in life without all the time feeling that while we are painting pictures, educating our children and ourselves, establishing parks, reading good literature, and living generous and just lives, some other set of people are using the time in the sordid and grubbing creation of monstrous engines of destruction which are to be sprung upon us suddenly and to exact the penalty of submission as the price of a devotion to a freer, better life. There can be no doubt as to the outcome of this war. It must be won and will be won by the peoples who did not will it, so we may just as well face the question: "What are we going to do with the fruits of victory when we have won them?"

Civilized men take fruits from victory; savages take spoils. The important question, therefore, is how shall we use most wisely the vindicated justice and the reëstablished opportunity which this war is to bring. When it is over, our heroic soldiers will come trooping back from fields which they have consecrated with their sacrifices; their hearts will leap with joy as they return to the country they have served, and their welcome will be on every tongue and in every heart. We will build monuments in this country with strange foreign names on them, but those names will become household words and part of our tradition and their mention will stir noble emotions as future generations form their characters by rereading the brave story of the things done by this generation. But the great army will have finished its task on the field of battle and will take up its great task on the field of life; each of these soldiers will become a citizen again, with his trade or profession, with his family, with his friends, and with the rest of life to live under conditions which he has won the right to expect shall be free and fine. The victory will be a point in history, the memories of this great contest a glorious tradition; but the fruits of the victory must be caught up into our life, they must engender not merely more wholesome international relations, but improving opportunity for the individual and coöperation among individuals on a higher plane in the making of our own future as a people.

It is in the light of reflections of this sort that books like Mr. Cooke's are timely and important. We may not have time enough now to remake our cities—every energy we have, all of our raw materials and industrial resources, all the man-power and mind-power of America must be put into the great contest—but we can stow away in the back of our minds the picture of a better city and therefore a better home, and we can now resolve that when our energies are liberated from this great and absorbing struggle we will turn enough of them

upon the problems which the city presents to make, correspondingly, a gathering of fruits there.

The life of the future in America will undoubtedly be industrial, and therefore our people will become more and more city dwellers; even the great agricultural population of the United States will be brought closer to the city and will depend more and more upon its facilities for education, culture, and recreation. As a consequence, the life of people in America will be conditioned by the cities; if they are well paved, well lighted, and well policed, if they are free from smoke and unnecessary discords and noises, if they have abundant and pure water, rapid transportation and effective disposal of waste, if there are adequate parks and wise educational systems, there will be correspondingly more chance for effective business. If the people in these cities are not exploited by oppressive grants to private individuals of public rights, but work under just conditions of labuor and in an environment of free and elevating opportunity, then the cities will be sources of inspiration and meeting places of growing and happy men.

I hesitate to put the alternative, and yet we have lived through an era in America in which the corrupt and degraded public life of our cities was not merely a moral blight, but a physical inhibition upon the normal development of the individual. The misgoverned city with its extortions and exactions, its undeserved despairs and its great masses of hopeless people, seemed but a few years ago to be an inevitable consequence of our industrial progress; but suddenly the light was let in and the progress of American cities in the last twenty years in strength of general purpose and in the effective reorganization of the processes of community coöperation is probably the most significant political development in recent American history. The tenement house is going, the infant mortality rate is likewise going, the tenderloin district and the gang are no longer regarded as inescapable evils—there has

been in America a spontaneous trend upward in the life of our cities for twenty years and it shows no signs of being arrested. In the meantime, sounder ideals of city betterment have come into being, group plans of artistic and inspiring design have been adopted for the placing of new public buildings, the wide avenue is replacing the narrow and crooked street. Forethought has been made the city builder instead of Accident, and the effect of this upon the life of city dwellers is apparent to those who have watched the march of events.

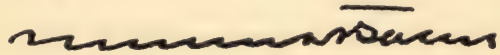
A number of years ago Mr. Brand Whitlock and I endeavoured to manufacture a word, to which we hoped we might give currency, which would stand for the same attitude of mind toward the city of one's residence which "patriotism" implies toward one's country. We were not very successful in the word we made, or at least in the currency we gave it, but the thing which we were endeavouring to put into a word was springing into existence all around us without any special intervention on our part. There is coming to be in America a love of one's city and willingness to serve one's city, and as a consequence the cities themselves are showing the results of being loved and served.

Mr. Cooke, as a practical city executive, loved and served Philadelphia, under the stimulating administration of Rudolph Blankenburg. The observations he has put into his book are practical and hard-headed, and deal with those aspects of community life which are the sound basis of community development. But he deals with the ideals of city government as well as the mechanics of it. Having been a Director of Public Works he knows that there must be order and system, that there must be easy but regular and effective machinery, and that there are virtues in plans of government, particularly when those plans are adapted to the desires and the training of the citizens who are at work. But Mr. Cooke knows, too, that mechanism must be inspired by ideals, just as idealism

must be restrained by practical considerations. The mere business man makes a hard and lifeless city government. The mere idealist is likely to make a romantic failure.

After all, the business of city government is the business of community coöperation. It starts with the charter and the book of ordinances. It ends with a game of tag played by children in public parks. It is necessary, therefore, to understand election machinery, modes of legislative and executive action, and the business of city housekeeping; but it is equally necessary to understand the relationship of voluntary civic agencies, and the value and usefulness of personal and group enthusiasms.

Mr. Cooke's chapters will be found interesting because they present a well-balanced picture, and those who think of the city as a home will find sound rules of action, and a practical but cheering prophecy in the future American city which Mr. Cooke foresees, and has already done much to bring into existence.



Washington,
August, 1918.

TO

RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG

A LIVING FORCE IN THE
LIFE OF PHILADELPHIA

ALWAYS A VALIANT LEADER IN
THE CAUSE OF CIVIC REFORM

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OUR CITIES AWAKE

CHAPTER I

PAVING THE WAY

"Unaffrighted by the sounds around her
Undistracted by the things she sees."

THIS pigeon made her nest and home in a window-box outside our offices in the Philadelphia City Hall. Within her sight and only a few feet away almost one hundred thousand people pass every day. It is with some such spirit that those of us engaged in the service of the city must go about our work. The problem is very large. There is always much to distract. There seems to be much coming and going. There are few standards to guide us. Of genuine training for such work there is almost none. Sometimes the pressure is strong to do the immediate and near by—rather than to build for the future. At best all

progress must seem slow and, in this field, especially so to the onlooker.

At the outset let us distinguish sharply between two currents in our American city-making. We must, of course, admit that we still have much that is selfish, sordid, and even criminal with which to contend. Perhaps this will always be the case. Wherever we find greed, debauchery, and the narrow view, they must be opposed. An extended research to uncover the nature and causes of any such phenomena may frequently be necessary to effect a cure. But it would be a fatal mistake to look upon ballot-box stuffing and crooked contracts as anything but the negative side of the city problem. To get the vision of what a city can and should be, and to see the directions along which affirmative progress is immediately possible, constitute the constructive approach to municipal well-being. While never condoning or ignoring whatever is wrong our most effective efforts must be in the direction of strengthening what is right and bringing order and harmony into the chaotic places. As President Wilson puts it: "Almost every vicious man is afraid of society and if you once open the door where he is, he will run. All you have to do is to fight—not with cannon—but with light."[1] One carefully planned step forward that becomes a part of the permanent life of the city may easily outweigh in importance the blocking of a dozen crooked deals.

The city as a field for service is making an increasingly strong appeal to young men and young women with ability and education and especially to those whose idea of culture involves a service somewhat wider than that of self-development and simply making a living. Nothing will do more to encourage recruits than to emphasize this constructive side of service to the city in times both of peace and of war. Checks and balances are no longer the big issue. We have

[1]Pittsburgh, October 24, 1914.

reached the point where everyone—rich and poor, foreign and native born—each can do his bit. The building of a city industrially, socially, and spiritually is a vast enterprise, tinged all over with romance, and in this work red-blooded and high-visioned men and women are more and more demanding a part.

City government, backward as it is, is indisputably ahead of state or county government at the present time. While a tight deadlock holds in check the advance in governing methods in our great commonwealths, many of our leading cities are throwing out their old charters and adopting new ones whose provisions are more in keeping with present-day conditions. The state is infinitely more loath to experiment than the city. The sceptre for backwardness and corruption, held not many decades ago by the American city, is fast passing to our larger political division—the state. Professor Charles A. Beard remarked in his monograph in the *New Republic*, on "Reconstructing State Government":

> Meanwhile, curiously enough, complete revolutions were being made in the charters of great cities—charters which, in their relation to the life, property, safety, health, and well-being of millions, were more important than the constitutions of a score of commonwealths. The bicameral system in city legislatures—once looked upon as the foundation of our municipal liberties—was flung away in nearly every municipality of any consequence except Philadelphia, where it remains a hieroglyphic of ancient days to be examined by the municipal antiquarian.

The product of municipal government should be the happiness of its citizen-stockholders. The great body of citizens can be municipally happy only to the extent of the provisions made for their convenience, health, safety, recreation, education, and employment. Spasmodic spurts and short-sighted planning and improvements will not accomplish municipal happiness; nor will they conserve a city's resources. Mr.

H. D. W. English, President of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, has expressed this idea very clearly:

It is proverbially the remark that municipalities, while they always wish to see returns for money expended, are not capable of looking very far into the future and seeing benefits from money expended to-day which will come back, perhaps, to our children. Such things as better housing conditions, better transportation facilities, better care of the children of the streets and better sanitary conditions, the granting of franchises viewed in a broad way, sometimes look too advanced to the ordinary legislator, but it is not difficult to show to the thoughtful business man that all this counts, even counts from the dollar-and-cents point of view, let alone the matter of civic pride. So it is by the arousing of interest in such bodies of business men that we have a healthy tone in a community which operates for the public good.

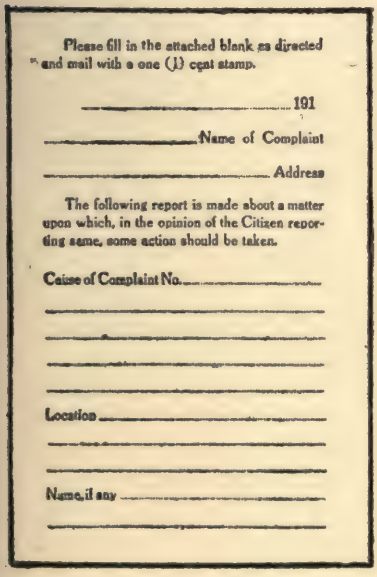
Whether the planning is done by the legislator or the administrator, the broadest and longest possible view must be taken. To plan "for over the week-end," or even for the current year, is too short-sighted. With the growing size and complexity of our cities the necessity is to look farther and farther ahead. Even to-day many of our best city plans will require the passing of two or three generations to secure their fullest justification. Again there is too much planning done from the sidewalk. This makes the immediate block—in which perhaps one happens to live—look too large. The effort should be to get up above the city, high enough to see it as a whole, so that a move in any one part is made so as to affect the entire city as favorably as possible.

COMPLAINTS

It is the duty of city officials—and it should be their pleasure as well—to make and keep things right. This is what they are paid for. Therefore if the municipal service is not adequate at any point the proper department should be notified. City officials are public servants whose direct responsibility is

to all the citizens. To get the public into the habit of writing or telephoning to us whenever there was necessity, was one of our principal endeavours. Every worker in the department was instructed to be pleasant and obliging in case of complaints. An official bulletin warned against the tendency to be curt with the people in correspondence and telephone calls.

My attention was early directed to the manner in which the police officers were sending in complaints of defective and unclean highways, broken sidewalks, etc. These were submitted but once a week and often the repairs had been made by the department before the complaint was received in the bureau responsible for it. To remedy this waste of time in reporting bad conditions, and still more, to encourage the police and citizens to make complaints more freely, it was decided to change the system in vogue by the introduction of a postal-card complaint book which was so arranged



Please fill in the attached blank as directed and mail with a one (1) cent stamp.

_____ 191

_____ Name of Complaint

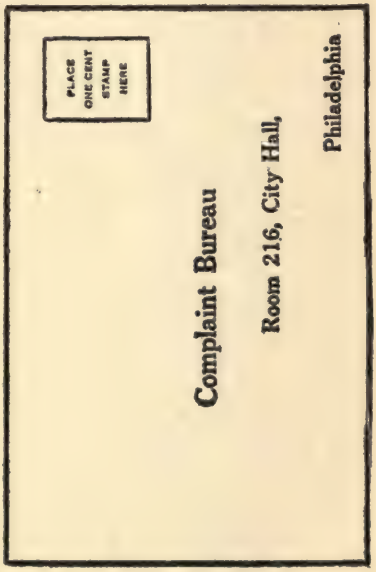
_____ Address

The following report is made about a matter upon which, in the opinion of the Citizen reporting same, some action should be taken.

Cause of Complaint No. _____

Location _____

Name, if any _____



PLACE ONE CENT STAMP HERE

Complaint Bureau

Room 216, City Hall,

Philadelphia

that it could be given to the police officer and also utilized in public places, such as drug stores, cigar stores and establishments of like nature. Through these stores, and public places the cards reached the general public.

The postal-card complaint book contains eight cards ready for mailing. The reverse side is so arranged that the complaint can be registered by the citizen in the shortest possible time. In order to standardize complaints an index was added. For instance, "3-B" is a complaint that notifies the department that an alley in district mentioned needs cleaning. The following is a section from the Index of the Postal-Card Complaint Book:

No. 1-A means Ashes neglected
No. 2-A means dangerous Awnings, etc.

1—ASHES
- A. Neglected
- B. Improperly placed.
- C. Improperly loaded.
- D. Wagons not covered.
- E. Negligence of collector.

(Give number of wagon.)

2—AWNINGS
- A. Dangerous.
- B. Built without permit.

3—ALLEYS
- A. Pavement broken.
- B. Dirty.

Such devices are wonderful ice-breakers for the ordinary citizen. He is enabled to reach the heart of the municipal system quickly and with little effort. He becomes more than a voting citizen, in spite of himself. If he favours the crowd on the job he figures that his friendly criticisms will help make a better city. On the other hand, if he belongs to the opposition, he will complain if only in the hope of swamping the department with work. Every good citizen becomes an

MODEL OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

Don't plan from the sidewalk. Get up above the city, high enough to see it as a whole

OPENING BIDS ON CONTRACTS
Note the locked box and the blackboard

ILL-ADVISED CONTRACT WORK
Two miles of this poorly constructed sidewalk and wall have been blasted into the lake

inspector in the service of the city. This provides not only the cheapest, but frequently the most effective, kind of inspection service.

To stimulate the use of these cards by the policemen and to add zest to the friendly rivalry which would ordinarily result from the use of this type of report, Mayor Blankenburg offered three prizes to the police officers who turned in the greatest number of well-founded complaints in conjunction with the greatest good resulting therefrom. The contest opened January 15, 1913, and closed two months later—March 15. The following bulletin was sent to all the police stations to give the plan the widest publicity:

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY
BUREAU OF POLICE

CIRCULAR No. 6 Phila., Jan. 9, 1913.

It is the desire of the Administration to secure the fullest measure of coöperation between the officers of the Bureau of Police and the various Departments of the City Government, and with this purpose in view, the following method has been devised:

1. Municipal Complaint Post-Card Books will be distributed to all Police Officers to be used on and after January 15, 1913.
2. These books contain detachable post cards to be used in notifying the Complaint Bureau of conditions requiring immediate attention.
3. Stamps may be obtained at Station Houses.
4. In making complaints officers will use the standard symbols given in the Complaint Book. For instance, No. 14-C means "Fire Hydrant obstructed by builders."
5. The fact that a condition has been reported in the above manner does not relieve the officer of making an arrest where necessary or of making other prescribed reports. The post-card report is designed to bring about immediate action in improving the physical condition of the city.
6. A separate card is to be used for each different class of complaint reported.
7. In addition to giving his number, the officer will initial all cards sent in.

Mayor Blankenburg is so impressed with the possibilities of this manner of improving conditions that he has authorized Director Porter to offer three prizes as follows:

First Prize	$100.00
Second Prize	50.00
Third Prize	35.00

to be given to the Police Officers who from January 15 to March 15, inclusive, put these complaint books to the best use.

The prizes will not be awarded entirely on the basis of the number of complaint cards sent in. Only one card should be sent in for each complaint.

The amount of good accomplished by the officer's action will be considered. Only those matters where there is a reasonable chance of providing a remedy should be reported. Sending in cards merely for the purpose of appearing efficient is to be discouraged.

In addition to determining the distribution of the prizes mentioned above, the intelligence shown in making reports will be recorded on the records of all officers.

Police Officers have many means of improving the physical conditions along their beats, and their activity in this duty reflects in a measure their interest in their work.

GEORGE D. PORTER,
Director.

All told, 2,754 well-founded complaints were entered during these two months, affecting not only the Department of Public Works but the Fairmount Park Commission, the Department of Health and Charities, and the Department of Public Safety. The prizes of $100.00, $50.00, and $35.00 in gold were subsequently awarded by the Mayor, in his office, to the police officers who had made the best showing, while another officer received honourable mention for making a unique report on the manner of displaying the illuminated route numbers on nearside street cars so that they could more easily be identified.

There were 20,000 of these post-card complaint books distributed through the police bureau, through business associations, and in the various stores in the city. The response was

general. This is only one instance of how it is usually possible to secure hearty coöperation between two departments of the city and thereby to produce better living conditions.

This and other work of a similar kind was done with the idea of actually stirring up complaints and inviting suggestions in contrast to the too frequently prevailing method of discouraging or ignoring them. Every letter that we received was answered. If the answer could not be made immediately, the instructions were that a card of acknowledgment should be sent and some idea given as to when the answer would be ready. The added burden that this work put on our office staff is shown by the fact that, in the Director's office, we used as many stenographers' notebooks in one month as had been used in the four years of a previous administration. Curiously enough we did not find it necessary, however, to add to our office force in any way.

We tried to take the position that we were fortunate in being able to come in contact with citizens interested in any part of our work. We were especially glad to have them come to the City Hall and bring to our attention any points wherein they felt we were not acting wisely, or perhaps would act differently if we had full information.

In handling correspondence and inquiries the effort was made to send our citizens to those having direct charge of the work, so that they might receive as much first-hand information as possible on matters about which they were good enough to inquire. When possible we gave people perfectly definite promises as to when public improvements would be undertaken. We made it unnecessary for them to secure such information through members of City Councils or others in positions of legislative or political influence. The instructions were that, wherever a *second* complaint was made about the same matter, a copy of the reply should be sent to the office of the Director.

If there is any one thing that will discourage the average citizen from calling on the city departments to adjust their complaints it is the continual reference from one bureau or division to another until the complainant becomes weary of the "red tape" and unbusiness-like methods. The method by which we shall ultimately get around this lack of coördination in city bureaus and departments will be the municipal complaint bureau. It will be the business of such a bureau to unwind the "red tape" and give the citizen prompt service.

In this connection, I am reminded of the story of two bricks which disappeared from a private alley in the rear of the home of a certain widow in Philadelphia. The aforesaid widow soon discovered that they had been used for paving around a fire plug in the neighbourhood. A complaint was made to the Mayor, which was referred to the Nuisance Division of the Bureau of Health. The inspector representing that bureau determined that the bricks were certainly missing and acquiesced in the theory of the widow that they had been used for repaving around the fire hydrant. The matter was then referred to the Bureau of Water and in due time its inspector reported that it was a matter absolutely within the province of the Bureau of Highways. It should be noted in this connection that the particular district of the water bureau reporting on the matter had at the time 44,000 bricks on storage in a near-by yard. In due course the matter was referred to the Bureau of Highways and its inspector, after ascertaining that all the facts above mentioned were correct, determined that the real responsibility lay with the contractor who had done the paving around the fire plug. The case was soon in the hands of the contractor and his foreman was once again determining the fact that the two bricks had been taken from the private alley-way of the widow and had been used around the fire hydrant. Six months after the receipt of the complaint the matter was still awaiting adjustment.

Most of us appreciate a word of encouragement. When letters of commendation for good work are received in an office they smooth over the rough places for everyone through whose hands they pass, and oftentimes affect, indirectly, the whole organization. In addressing our "Citizen Stockholder's Manual"—(a little pamphlet indexing the various city offices, published for the assistance of those wanting to make complaints)—we reminded the public among other things, that—

> Every big business necessarily gets many complaints. It is helpful to those in charge of the work if people who are pleased with the service they receive write and say so. We want to do everything that we can to encourage sending in of complaints, but letters of commendation for individuals or branches of the service are equally acceptable.

Letters of commendation were invariably forwarded to the employees whose work was praised. At one time we offered a prize to the employee who was responsible for drawing down on the department the finest letter of commendation. This competition afforded the best possible advertisement of the desirability of such letters and the good effect they have on the municipal service.

FINANCIAL METHODS

Perhaps it is in financial planning that the American city is farthest away from a possible ideal. In some respects any city is so situated that this part of its work should be relatively easy. Its revenues are so derived as to be fairly regular in good times and in bad. Then those sudden and not-to-be-anticipated demands for large capital expenditures common in industry rarely arise with the city. Thus the balancing of income and expenditure becomes relatively easy. Again the objects of capital expenditure are fairly easily determined many

years in advance—are rightly only so determined—and this fact makes it easy to spread the anticipated plant outlays intelligently and evenly over almost any given period of years. We do not take advantage of these conditions. Our municipal financial planning hardly extends beyond the twelve months of the calendar year.

The chances are that in this part of the city's work it will be some time before we get genuinely expert service. Questions of land tax and land values occupy of course a very large part in the whole question of city finance. The views generally held on this subject by bankers and other experts on finance are too nearly uniform to make them good advisers to a city operating along democratic lines. This will continue to be true until we get from the people themselves some further decisions as to the methods to be used in taxation. The city will have to train its own experts in finance. They will doubtless arrive with the on-coming régime of appointive administrative officials, longer terms for city servants and business methods generally.

"Pay as you go" seems to be the basic rule for current outlays. For capital expenditures to amortize the bond issues well within the expected life of the improvement seems equally sound but more difficult to apply. To have the same bond period for macadam roads, with an expected life of say twelve years, as for concrete bridges, which will last practically indefinitely—a common practice—is of course entirely too illogical. A solution would be to have, say, four bond periods of perhaps ten, twenty, forty, and seventy-five years.

The department of Public Works in Philadelphia being the one in which more contract work was carried on than in any other, was the one principally at interest in the matter of loan funds. We called the attention of the heads of city and county departments to the unnecessarily large balances of loan funds

constantly in the hands of the City Treasurer, with the thought that if this total could be reduced the economies resulting from lowered interest payments would put at the disposal of city councils further moneys for construction work. As a result of this suggestion a bill was drafted by the City Solicitor and presented to the Legislature by a committee representing the department heads. The passage of this bill made it possible to pool all the funds resulting from any one loan. This was one of the principal causes which led to a reduction, by several million dollars, of the total of loan-fund balances. We urged the passage of further legislation which would pool in a similar way all loan funds and thus permit of further reduction in the total. The ultimate step will be to pool all funds—those resulting from taxation, loans, and other sources.

It is, of course, an old-fashioned idea that, by keeping separate the cash coming from different sources, a check is afforded against its improper expenditure. An individual does not find it necessary or profitable to keep in different pockets money coming as the result of investments and that representing salary or wages. Ultimately our cities will find it possible by the pooling of all cash, no matter what the origin, to prosecute their work with smaller balances.

It would appear to be a good theory of municipal finance that as largely as practicable each part of the work should be self-sustaining. It is apparently just as wrong to make the charges at any one point more than enough to pay for the work as it is to make them too small. The incomes from the various undertakings in our department were almost invariably either too great or too small. The mechanisms for making changes were entirely too antiquated. For instance, the charges in the Bureau of Surveys were established in 1867 when conditions were absolutely different from those of to-day. Some of the charges are consequently much too high, and

others entirely too low. The charge of $1.50 per foot front for sewer construction, for example, is probably one half of what it should be. Many of our fixture charges for water would be characterized as highway robbery if charged by a private water company, whereas, on the other hand, the cubic-foot rate for water—four cents per thousand gallons—is too low. Again, the state automobile tax, even if given to the city, would be entirely inadequate to cover the upkeep of the roads made necessary by this class of vehicle. I am quite sure that an adequate tax on automobiles, fairly levied and with the assurance that the money was to be spent especially on main-traffic streets, would not be an unpopular tax. Automobile owners would very soon find out that a relatively small increase in the license fee would be more than offset by a reduction in repairs.

The goal toward which we should work, as I have said, would be to have as many of our municipal activities self-supporting as possible. This gives the public an opportunity to decide for itself whether it desires to go ahead with any given line of activity and, if so, on what basis. So long as the people do not know what it costs, or if they are made to feel that it costs either a great deal more or much less than is actually the case, they are not in a position to give an intelligent decision. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that in Germany this principle is followed even to the extent of making those whose homes or places of business get on fire pay the full expense of putting out such fires. This puts a premium on so maintaining the premises that fires do not occur.

There are a number of other taxes—such as the personal, mercantile, tobacco, manufacturers', license, occupation, real estate, etc.—the fairness and the standardization of which can be determined, even to an approximate degree, only by the best experts in the field. The difficulties in the way of satisfying the public in the matter of taxation is well illustrated

by certain newspaper complaints on a proposed dog tax. One lady protested that she should not be deprived of the pleasure of the company of her pet dog by the imposition of a $1.00 dog tax. Another kicker, in another paper, said: "You ought to charge those miserable dogs at least $100 apiece."

The most serious problem in the matter of taxation is, of course, the assessment of real estate. The general lack of standards and of essential justice in this field are known to every property-owning citizen in the land. In seventy-two actual purchases of land by the City of Philadelphia, made necessary in opening the Northeast Boulevard, the record discloses the fact that the price at which the property was assessed previous to purchase by the city ranged all the way from 6 per cent. to 63⅔ per cent. of the price at which sale was finally made. Fourteen of the seventy-two transactions show that the property was assessed at less than 20 per cent. of the selling price. There has been so little of intelligently directed public discussion of municipal taxation that we can hardly claim that even a fair start has been made in building a satisfactory or scientific public policy. Until some good municipal administrator makes it his business to thrash out and get public support for a few fundamental principles, important elections will continue to be unduly influenced by ponderous discussions as to the expediency of a tax on dogs and on furniture. Such was the case in the municipal election held in Philadelphia in 1915.

BUDGETS AND COST KEEPING

It is a generation since we heard the first rumble of the artillery in the battle for an intelligent and intelligible budget. Even so, we have not yet heard—so far as I know—a single word about what is probably the most important phase

of the subject, *i. e.*, the effect of the budget upon cost keeping. This, of course, reminds us that cost keeping, an important phase of the work of most industrial establishments, has not even made a beginning as a feature of our government activities.

With a more modern system of budgets and accounting control, and the right type of appropriation ordinance, it should be possible for the average citizen to know which public officials are doing their work efficiently and economically and which among them are careless, both as to results obtained and as to the cost at which they are secured. This is impossible under the archaic financial system—or lack of system—which is practised in practically every American city to-day. The expenses of operation and of maintenance, and in many instances of construction as well, are all mixed up. It is difficult to prove anything "from the books." This should not be. In the long run the best type of men will not be attracted to the city service if the estimate put on their work is to be so largely a question of guesswork or chance. The present system lays the most efficient of administrations open to charges which are hard to answer in such a way as to be convincing.

In discussing budgets and budgetary procedure in the *New Republic*[1] Professor Beard calls attention to the wonderful spectacle of the Socialist city administrations "in search of funds for beneficent enterprises, standing side by side with tax-payers in the effort to eliminate the enormous waste of municipal revenues which inevitably flowed from pork-barrel politics and log-rolling tactics of ward statesmanship." Hence he concludes, "the demand for a centralized and scientific budget, made by responsible officers and approved by the city council."

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[1]August 21, 1915.

Much can be accomplished by those having charge of municipal expenditures if they will submit reasonable estimates of their expected requirements, and then make their subsequent actions tally with these forecasts. Under such a system it would not be very long before the money-voting power would realize that a particular department knew what it wanted, and that anything short of that amount would not be enough. When it is necessary to make expenditures for which funds have not already been provided by appropriation, the citizens suffer because of the unbusiness-like methods forced on their administrative representatives. When a coal dealer sells coal to the city "on tick" he very properly charges the city something extra for the special service. But it generally happens that the risks as figured by the coal dealer exceed the most imaginative figures possible in private transactions. Overrunning appropriations is, from every standpoint, an expensive pastime for which Mr. Common Citizen must ultimately pay.

An excellent example of the embarrassment and financial loss resulting from insufficient appropriation is furnished by the snow-removal work of the Bureau of Highways of Philadelphia Notwithstanding the recommendations made in the Annual Report of 1913, the Bureau was again, in 1914, in spite of the preparation of detailed specifications and planning, placed in the embarrassing position of having to carry on the work of snow removal without adequate appropriation. Thus the Bureau becomes dependent upon contractors, who can afford to wait several months to be paid for their work—a method which not only is an imposition on the contractors but which prevents the Bureau from going out into the open market and employing any man who has one or more teams. The annual appropriation of $2,500 would not pay for a half day's work in a heavy storm. Appropriations should be made providing sufficient funds to enable those in charge of the work

to go into the open market when necessary and to employ teams. The appropriation in this instance should be sufficiently large to give the Bureau the whip-hand in controlling the work for which it is held responsible. This money need not be appropriated absolutely for snow removal, as there is, of course, an uncertainty as to whether it would be used, but it could be appropriated in such a way that it might be used for snow removal or, if not used for that purpose, would revert to the item for street repairs for instance.

At the beginning of our administration, it frequently happened that we did not have money to meet the regular operating payrolls. Instructions were issued that City Councils would be given a month's notice of any such anticipated shortage. If the request was not met by an appropriation before the obligation was incurred, the instructions were to reduce the force to the number which could be taken care of by the appropriation as made. In several instances it was necessary to resort to this procedure. This rule of the department, however, had the effect which we anticipated, and the necessary appropriations began to be made in such season that our employees were not forced to wait for their money.

Except in extreme emergencies no expenditures for either repairs or new work were authorized in the absence of appropriations.[1] The following schedule, dated October 30, 1909, four years before we took office, shows that the Bureau of Highways of the City of Philadelphia exceeded by over $500,000 the appropriations credited to it on that date.

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[1]With the exception of sprinkling and snow removal these exceptions amounted to very little. Councils practically took the position of authorizing the expenditures for snow removal and sprinkling prior to making the appropriation, as there was no very definite way of ascertaining beforehand the amount that would be required.

	ACTUAL APPROPRIATION	EXPENDED IN EXCESS
5 Repairs to paved streets, all classes except asphalt	$5,000	$102,500
6 Repairs to country roads, sprinkling, macadam roads, trunks and guard rails	2,500	111,900
11 Hauling and yard expenses	1,000	1,000
14 Curbing and paving footways in front of City and unassessable property	1,000	11,000
16 Keep of horses—inspectors and Commissioners	10,200	17,600
18 Curved curbs	6,200	1,500
20 Repairs to asphalt streets	21,000	87,900
23 Repairs to sewers furnishing manhole covers, etc.	25,000	87,000
24 Repairs to bridges	21,000	117,000
		$537,400

This totals actually $537,400. If the same overrunning had been practised by the other Departments of the city administration it can easily be seen that City Councils were not in reality directing municipal expenditures. Just who was performing this part of the legislative function at that time is not altogether clear. Some light is thrown on the question by the following letter dated July 19, 1910, and addressed by the then Director of the Department of Public Works to James P. McNichol who was at that time generally credited with being the political boss of the Republican City Machine. Mr. McNichol at that time had no official relation with the government of Philadelphia other than that of contractor. In this letter the then Director called "Sunny Jim's" (the boss's nickname) attention to the requirements of the department to be taken from a pending $5,000,000 loan:

July 19, 1910.

HON. JAMES P. McNICHOL,
Betz Building.

DEAR SIR:

Supplementing my letter of this date, relative to the apportionment by the Finance Committee for this Department from the five million dollar loan, I beg to submit the following comparative statement showing the requirements of the Department, as well as the apportionment that has been made:

BUREAU OF HIGHWAYS

ITEM	REQUIRED BY THE DEPARTMENT	APPORTIONED BY COMMITTEE
4 Removal of snow and sprinkling streets	$ 17,500	$ 2,500
5 Repairs to paved streets	199,000	50,000
6 Repairing country roads, including sprinkling of macadam roads. . .	159,000	40,000
(Items 7 to 28 omitted for brevity)		
29 Horses, wagons, etc.	1,500	800
30 Donkey pumps, etc.	500	
31 Special articles	3,000	1,600
32 Lead pipe.	2,000	1,200

No. 16186

Yours truly,

DIRECTOR.

This letter proves that at that time practically no distinction was made in the expenditure of loan funds as between amounts properly chargeable on the one hand to construction account and on the other to operation and maintenance.

One year, while I was in office, we received definite instructions from the City Controller as to the method under which our budget was to be prepared. In order to make this of the largest possible value to City Councils practically three budgets were formulated. The first one was what might be called a

rock-bottom programme of proposed expenditures; the second was somewhat more liberal and was one which the department not only recommended but felt fully justified in proposing; the third was one which included such further items of expenditure as were not only perfectly proper but which would provide the city with improvements demanded by our citizens. A number of our employees were forced to work overtime during the hot summer months in order to get out these detailed statements. The time was almost thrown away because the employees of City Councils ignored the form suggested by the Controller under which these budgets were prepared and recast the information provided into a form which recommended itself solely because it was somewhat like that which had formerly been used. The appropriations were finally made on this latter basis and the Controller's books as well as our departmental records had to be kept along these lines. Through this unenlightened action on the part of the legislative branch we were prevented from having anything in the city service which approximated cost records in private undertakings. If the effort had been made to devise a scheme by which nobody, through any chance, would know the cost of anything, it is hard to conceive of one better fitted for the purpose than that adopted. In almost no particular is Philadelphia in a position to compare its operating and maintenance cost with those of other cities. The same is almost as true of construction costs. Of course this is relatively true of every American city.

Perhaps the most important consideration here is that the budget should be prepared in such a way as to be readily intelligible to the public. Here is certainly one of the places where in a democracy action should largely be determined by "what the people have to say about it." When it comes to a decision as to whether this year's appropriations for schools or highways should be increased a large factor in the decision

should come as the result of widespread public discussion. In fact, if budgets are to be of the widest usefulness they should be reduced ultimately to a special form for public use. The people will always be well advised if they limit public discussion to the broader issues. There are always so many details that any balanced discussion of them is impossible.

GRAPHIC METHOD ILLUSTRATING MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES
Showing how Philadelphia spent $46,000,000 in 1914

This illustration shows an attempt by Donald C. Baldwin of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania to visualize in broad fashion the objects for which the City of Philadelphia expended over forty-six million dollars in 1914. So far as I know this is the first time that such a task has been attempted. If some standard form applicable to all cities could be adopted our citizens would be in a

TWO GOOD MAYORS

An enlargement of a moving picture film of Rudolph Blankenburg, Mayor of Philadelphia, and John P. Mitchel, Mayor of New York taken at the Utilities Conference in Philadelphia in August, 1914

ON TO HARRISBURG

A delegation of 1,500 Philadelphians who made an all-day trip from Philadelphia to Harrisburg, 3 hours away, to urge passage of legislation of interest to the City of Brotherly Love

position to make comparisons. A similar chart showing the sources from which the total revenue is derived would be useful. In all classes of undertakings the graphic method of making reports is becoming more and more an object of study.

APPROPRIATION MAKING

There is a constant conflict in this country, in the matter of making appropriations, between the forces urging "lump sum" appropriations and those demanding detailed appropriations. Commissioner Brownlow of the District of Columbia says that the tendency in district appropriations as made by Congress is toward detail rather than away from it. Each year Congress takes up some one local appropriation and subdivides it. There are apparently no subdivided appropriations that are being changed to lump appropriations. These detail items go as low as, for instance, "$160, for Custodian of Stone Yard."

This tendency toward detail in appropriations seems to have the upper hand in all appropriations made by Congress. One reason assigned by Congressional committees for detailed provisions covering expenditures is that when moneys are voted in this way it is possible for members of Congress to know actually what happens to the money. It has been their experience that when a lump sum is appropriated, the authorities do with it "any old thing" they wish, and then let the Committee on Appropriations find out as best they can what was done. This seems to me to be a splendid argument in favour of engineers and administrators putting more effort into learning how to visualize the object of expenditures.

I used to consider lump sum appropriations the only method that would permit the most efficient administration. I still believe this to be true where the man spending the appropriation has the public interest as his prime consideration. Un-

fortunately, I am forced to retreat from too strong an advocacy of lump sum appropriations through a realization of the fact that there are still with us, in the municipal government field, a large element whose personal desires obstruct their vision toward anything not selfish. Even under these conditions, I contend for a small percentage of the total appropriations to be held by the administrator, for emergency use, mainly the employment of experts.

Experience has shown that in our department, spending, as we did, over $10,000,000 in a single year, we could profitably spend $25,000 a year for research and investigation work and for the employment of experts beyond the amount and for such purposes as included in the budget. In fact, some moneys were appropriated for such purposes with the proviso that the object of each warrant drawn against the item should be explained in not less than 100 words on the accom panying voucher. In making this class of appropriations it would probably be wise to allow, say 10 per cent., to be explained or not, in the judgment of the administrative officer. This plan would imitate the practice followed in practically every city in the country in the expenditure of funds for the detection of crime.

Especially in engineering work, an almost entire absence of what may be called a financial programme is the great handicap. Private institutions can go along for years on a straight operating basis and without the necessity of undertaking any extensive construction work. But a growing city must necessarily spend a considerable part of its income on construction. This can be done with intelligence only by taking a long look ahead. For instance, at the present time in Philadelphia we are facing expenditures of from $20,000,000 to $25,000,000 for a sewage-disposal installation; perhaps $60,000,000 for rapid transit; $10,000,000 for water-front development and extensive additions to our water supply

system, not to mention other millions which could profitably be spent on sewers, bridges, grade-crossings, and a much-needed programme of modern highway construction. There is probably no city in the country that is attacking such obvious business problems in an intelligent, systematic, far-sighted, and energetic way. Reform will not be brought about until the community, and especially the business part of the community, is educated as to its necessity. In every case our cities should proceed only after full expert information. Several hundred thousands paid to properly qualified experts for some intelligent planning would be cheap insurance for a capital investment of $100,000,000. This is the size of the last Philadelphia municipal loan.

Municipal legislators are sometimes at a loss to know how to make appropriations in view of the fact that the requests of heads of departments exceed the amount available. Recently in Chicago, when the heads of the departments refused to do the scaling, the aldermen simply put on a rider stating that every item would be scaled 10 per cent. unless in the meantime the department head would specify an item or items which would total to that amount and which could be cut out. I do not know how this worked, but it appears to be a scheme which could be quite generally applied.

CONTRACT JOCKEYING

The system of letting public contracts, as practised during the last generation, is probably as largely responsible as any other one cause for the degeneration of municipal administration in this country. There is little to be accomplished by going into the details of the procedure under which the favourite contractor is allowed to get the contract on his own terms. There is generally nothing very clever about it—in fact, the remarkable thing is that, with all the possibilities, such crude

means are usually adopted. But the very number of different ways that may be used by dishonest contractors, working in close harmony with dishonest city officials to rob the city treasury, makes it necessary for city administrators to leave no stone unturned to surround the drawing of specifications, the opening of bids, the letting of contracts, and the execution of the work, with the greatest possible regularity of procedure, the utmost formality, and the widest publicity.

Through long-time usage, a larger percentage of Philadelphia's total expenditures is paid out on work done by contract than is the case in most other cities. This made it all the more necessary for us to conduct our contract work along the most approved lines. Too much space would be required to give in any detail the changes which we made in this matter. The publiticy side of the question is elaborated in a later chapter. All our bids were opened in one place and in the presence of representatives of the Director's office and of the bureau at interest. In the old days it was a frequent occurrence for bids to be opened so that no one could see the operation, and to read them out in such a mumbling voice that not even the name of the bidder, much less the figures bid, could be understood by those standing even a few feet away. We made provision that the names of bidders could not be known in advance. The bids themselves were dropped in a box in the hallway unobserved by any one. They were all opened at one time, as received, in a large room and on a raised platform, from which they were read out in a loud tone of voice. The prices were immediately written on a blackboard which was ruled to take this particular set of figures. Even bids under $500 were all opened simultaneously, immediately after the time-limit had expired.

Again, we did not advertise until the specifications were ready to be issued. It frequently happened, in the old days, that when an advertisement for a certain public improvement

appeared and an interested person called for the specifications, he was told that they had not come from the printer. In many instances this was kept up to within a few days, and in some instances a few hours, of the time when the bids were opened.

An investigation of the League Island Park contract, in Philadelphia, by Messrs. Allen Hazen, Richard L. Humphrey, and Frederick W. Taylor, was undertaken not so much for the purpose of instituting criminal or civil proceedings against the contractors, or even to save the city money, but rather to have three generally recognized experts analyze the methods under which these contracts were let and executed, for the enlightenment and education of the people. The report of the investigators showed that it would have been practically impossible to violate more of the rules which should obtain in such matters than was done in this case. The main features brought out were these:

1. No specifications or detail plans.
2. Minimum of advertising.
3. Poor design adopted *after* award.
4. Work too rapidly executed.
5. Practically no inspection.
6. Much of work unnecessary.

The result of this expenditure of $1,500,000 was a poorly constructed, premature, and unsightly park area, much of which had, subsequently, to be destroyed. The photograph herewith gives an idea of the stability and "beauty" of the work. Two miles of stone and concrete wall, costing the city $225,000, had afterward to be blasted into the adjoining lake. It was conservatively estimated by several reputable engineers that the entire job could be duplicated, in much better fashion, for $750,000, one half of what the actual work cost the city.

Edwin H. Vare, the contractor, claimed that the city

still owed him an amount approximating $210,000. Of this amount approximately $150,000 was the balance due on grading, concrete, and other miscellaneous work and the remaining $60,000 was for a fill on an unopened street. A large portion of these claims was for work never authorized. Under a recent decision of the court, however, it would be possible for City Councils to make an appropriation to cover the entire claim because, apparently, the only restriction that is placed on voting away the City's money is that it should be voted for a municipal purpose; and perhaps the payment of a claim of this character might come in that category. In view of all the sickening details contained in the report of the experts—as to how Senator Vare practically dictated the specifications, performed only that part of the work which it pleased him to perform, and virtually appointed the inspectors, who, acting like automatons, passed the work and approved the bills as rendered—one stands in amazement at the nerve that suggests further compensation.

In order to make as difficult as possible any such diversion of public funds, I instructed the Acting Surveyor of the first district to inventory carefully all the papers which had a bearing on these alleged claims, and had them impounded in a box in the Fidelity Trust Company with instructions to that company not to give them up except on a written order signed jointly by the Mayor of the City, the City Solicitor, the Director of the Department of Public Works, and the Chief of the Bureau of Surveys.

We found that most of the specifications willed to us by our predecessors had been written by contractors, and that most of the work covered by these specifications had been inspected by men on the contractor's payrolls. In some cases the work had been very competently and honestly designed and placed under contract, and then the best intentions of the engineers set at naught by the action of inspectors either paid

by the contractors or intimidated by them. In other cases printed specifications were little more than a place in which to locate jokers, put there for the benefit of the favoured contractor.

Perhaps the most effective single step we took was to invite everyone to criticize our methods. In this we included those of our employees who had suggestions to make, contractors, and the public generally. With a single exception, the reasons for the non-adoption of a suggestion were cordially accepted by the person directing our attention to it. The only exception was in the matter of publishing estimate prior to the opening of bids. The law in Philadelphia provides that for every public improvement an estimate shall previously be made, and that no bid in excess of this estimate shall be accepted. It was held by some that it would be of great assistance to bidders to know what this estimate was, but on the whole it seemed to be to the public interest to have these figures on file in the department, but withheld from the public until after the bids were opened.

In many lines of work the department employed more skillful men than were employed by contractors, and there seemed to be no good reason why the department should not take advantage of any lowering in the cost that might be brought about by our men knowing better than the contractor the best and cheapest method under which the work should be performed. We were always liberal in making these estimates so it rarely happened that we had to throw out all of the bids on account of not getting any within the estimate; whereas it frequently occurred that the bids were below our calculations. This would probably have happened less frequently had we published our estimates before opening the bids. Of course after the award had been made our city engineers coöperated with those of the contractor in giving the latter the benefit of all available ideas and suggestions.

In one case a number of contractors interested in a particular line of work employed counsel to lay before the new administration their criticism of what were styled "arbitrary specifications." These contractors were encouraged to formulate their grievances in as full detail as possible. The chief of the bureau affected was then allowed to make his answer, and in every instance the persons bringing the complaint were satisfied that the specifications as drawn were not only to the interests of the city, but fair to all concerned.

In another instance it was claimed that a member of City Councils was interested in a contract which had been awarded to a man closely related to him. In order to avoid any possibility of being a party to a breach of the law, the bidder to whom the contract was awarded was asked to make affidavit as to the names of any persons besides himself interested in the contract. An affidavit to the effect that he alone was interested was filed in the department as an answer to the complaint.

During our term of office an association of contractors doing business with the city was organized. We assumed that it was formed to safeguard and advance the proper interests of its members and we heartily coöperated with it. As a rule it is a good thing to foster rather than to discourage associations of those having relations of any kind with the municipality. This applies as well to employees, and to those who sell supplies to the city, as it does to associations of citizens and taxpayers.

We made strenuous efforts to have the Legislature pass a bill authorizing five-year contracts instead of those running only one year, as now provided by law. Absolutely no defence can be made for one-year contracts, especially when these cannot be signed until January 1st, the time when the money becomes available. Particularly on such contracts as those for garbage disposal and electric light, a system of one-year con-

tracts not only bars out competition, but forces the city to accept terms made at the pleasure of the contractor then in the field.

The collection and disposal of garbage was a subject to which we gave a great deal of attention. After the long and absolute reign of the Penn Reduction Company, the American Product Company was given the annual contract for 1913 at $229,000 as against $510,000 which had been paid for 1911 and $430,000 in 1912. Almost immediately dissensions arose within the management of that company and, at the time when they needed to make large p'ant expenditures, one faction forced the declaring of a dividend. This left the faction in charge of the operation of the plant without the means for making those additions to the plant which would have enabled them to handle the garbage in the most profitable manner. There was nothing, however, in this to prevent the collection and disposal of the garbage. It simply meant that the American Product Company did not secure the financial return from the contract which was easily possible. The garbage was collected and disposed of as well as in previous years, and in some respects better.

In carrying out this contract the American Product Company, almost from the beginning, was harassed by outside parties. Toward the middle of the year, the rival company, the Penn Reduction Company, participated in a campaign by which the resources and the operating ability of the American Product Company were seriously embarrassed. This squabble between the two companies was the beginning of the last stage of a fight between them which had been going on for over ten years with the net result that the city had been steadily plundered. There is no use in discussing here the details of the plan by which the Penn Reduction Company forced the American Product Company to the wall. This scheme brought about a condition under which it was necessary

for the department to annul the contract with the American Product Company and to make an award for the remainder of the year to the Penn Reduction Company but at no increase in the expense.

Every city should collect its own garbage and probably every city should own its own reduction plant. Where the plant is not municipally owned the disposal contract should run for ten years. The processes for the utilization of garbage are changing so rapidly that a contract period of longer than ten years is not likely to have any advantage.

POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS

One of the most despicable practices of our states and cities and especially of our larger municipalities is the collection from employees of "contributions" for campaign purposes. The evil has grown to such an extent that almost every state and city in the nation having a civil service law has made an attempt to protect itself in this respect. The practice is mentioned in the regulations governing appointments to the United States Navy. In fact, the United States Civil Service Commission issued a pamphlet of instruction on the subject in 1913.

We have all been told, from time to time—through street rumours, declarations from political platforms, or newspaper articles—that some such systemized tribute was exacted by those who "shook the tree" in the name of the political machine to use a phrase coined by the late Matthew Stanley Quay, Senator from Pennsylvania. The continued currency of such rumours in Philadelphia suggested that perhaps the assessment of office-holders by the dominant political machine was carried out in a more thorough manner in that city than anywhere else in the world. An examination into the facts of the case revealed, all too well, the truth that lurked in such

an assumption. Information about this matter reached me entirely through official sources, and was substantiated by what must be considered official papers.

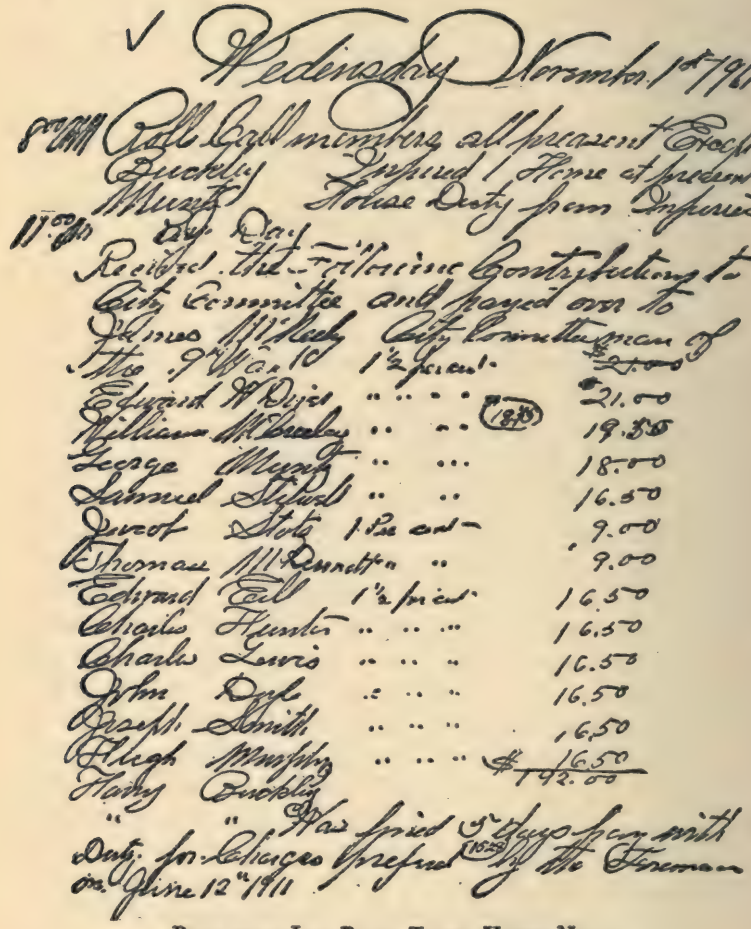
My report on "Political Assessments in Philadelphia," published privately in 1913, established these facts:

1. Approximately 94% of all city employees paid assessments.
2. It was generally understood throughout the service that those who did not pay would be discharged.
3. The character and position of some of those who are shown to have paid indicate that high standing did not necessarily exempt any one.
4. These "contributions" total several hundred thousand dollars every year.
5. The sworn statements of the treasurers of Republican Committees show that their reports do not account even for what is secured from office-holders.

This system is again in force in Philadelphia[1]. The effectiveness of the methods used is amply demonstrated by the records. Herewith is given a reproduction of a page from the Log Book of Truck House No. 9. This schedule shows the assessments levied against firemen on November 1, 1911, a few days before Mayor Blankenburg's election. It will be noted that all members were assessed with the exception of one Harry Buckley, who, we are told on the second line of the page, was at home due to injuries. That philanthropy might not seem to have been carried to excess Mr. Buckley was fined, during his absence, $15.28, "for charges preferred by the Foreman" some months back. This was apparently in lieu of the $16.50 which Mr. Buckley would have been compelled to pay had he been in good health.

A photographic reproduction of an account of contributions made to the Republican City Campaign Committee by the Director's office of the Department of Public Works is also

[1]Of course during the administration of Mayor Blankenburg no political assessments were permitted in the departments under his control.



Wednesday November 1st 1911

8 AM Roll Call members all present Capt
Buckley Injured / Home at present.
Murphy House Duty from Injuries
11 AM Dep Dist — "
Received this — Following Contributions to
City Committee and Payed over to
James McCloskey City Committeeman of
the 9th Ward on 10 1/2 per cent.

Edward H Dyer	" " "	$21.00
William McCauley	" "	19.50
George Murphy	" "	18.00
Samuel Stewart	" "	16.50
Daniel Stokes	1 Per cent	9.00
Thomas McDermott	" "	9.00
Edward Call	1 1/2 per cent	16.50
Charles Hunter	" " "	16.50
Charles Lewis	" " "	16.50
John Doyle	" " "	16.50
Joseph Smith	" " "	16.50
Hugh Mulvihill	" " "	$16.50
		142.00

Harry Buckley
" " Was Injured & Hugo Jacquith
Duty for Charges Preferred by the Foreman
on June 12th 1911

PAGE FROM LOG BOOK, TRUCK HOUSE NO. 9
Located at 21st and Market Streets, Philadelphia
Showing schedule political assessments levied against firemen on November 1, 1911, a few days before Mayor Blankenburg's election

shown. Everyone with the exception of the janitress lent a helping hand. It is hard to imagine what force operated to cause this neglect. Even a better record was established in the case of the Bureau of Gas where everyone on the payroll "contributed."

The high percentage of employees paying assessments in the various divisions of the Department of Public Works indi-

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS,

DIRECTOR'S OFFICE.

CONTRIBUTION TO REPUBLICAN CITY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

Name.	Amount.
Peter E. Costello,	$400.00
Wm. H. Baker,	120.00
Willis Sheble,	$ 22.50
Lewis R. Snow,	22.50
Rob't. C. Hicks,	18.00
Ernest T. Hanefeld	15.00
Andrew L. Teamer,	15.00
Harry A. Stoy,	9.00
Roscoe C. Lockwood,	9.00
J. J. Johnston,	7.00
	$638.00

Previously by checks
P E Costello 400.
W H Baker 120
$520

$20.00
118.00

THE SCRUBWOMAN WAS THE ONLY ABSENTEE

Schedule of political assessments paid by employees in the office of the Director of Public Works, City of Philadelphia

cates, with painful emphasis, how heavy hung the heads that wore the crowns of the public service:—

Director's Office	90.9
Bureau of Gas	100.
Bureau of Lighting	87.5
Bureau of Highways	95.
Bureau of Surveys	93.
Bureau of Water	94.

With a general average of almost 94 per cent. for the entire Department there is a certain grim humour in the use of quotation marks around the word "Contributions" as it appeared in the schedule of the Bureau of Lighting.

For the levying of these assessments there was developed a thoroughly business-like system. A schedule in the Department of Public Works showed the percentages paid by the different grades of employees. No one escaped, and the "big ones" contributed in increased proportion for the purchase of ammunition for the political arsenal.

In my report to the Mayor I made the following statement:

In no single year in the last ten has the amount contributed directly by office-holders to the Republican campaign funds been less than a quarter of a million dollars, which amount was the sum raised in 1911, the year in which you were elected. During the previous year, 1910, almost half a million was so collected, and even ten years ago, or in 1903, the figures approximated $350,000.00.

The assessments paid by Philadelphia office-holders are of two kinds, viz., the city assessment and the ward assessment. The city assessment, paid to the City Committee, is made twice a year, once before each election. The ward assessment, paid to the Ward Committee, amounts to one half the city assessment, and is payable just prior to election. Hence to obtain the total contributions for any one office holder one must multiply the scheduled rate of assessment by three.

The total amount of these assessments is probably easier

to visualize in an actual table showing the contributions that city employees, receiving the salaries listed, were called upon to "stand and deliver" each year as follows:—

REVENUE FROM ASSESSMENTS ON VARIOUS SALARIES

$ 600	@	3%	$ 18.00	$ 2,100	@	6 %	$ 126.00
720	"	"	21.60	2,400	"	"	144.00
750	"	"	22.50	2,500	"	"	150.00
800	"	"	24.00	2,800	"	"	168.00
840	"	"	25.20	3,000	"	9%	270.00
900	"	"	27.00	3,500	"	"	315.00
1,000	"	"	45.00	4,000	"	"	360.00
1,100	"	"	49.50	8,000	"	"	960.00
1,200	"	4½%	54.00	6,000	"	12%	720.00
1,500	"	"	67.50	8,000	"	"	960.00
1,800	"	"	81.00	10,000	"	"	1,200.00
2,000	"	6%	120.00	12,000	"	"	1,440.00

To prove that this method of gathering campaign funds has been the general practice for a generation, I have the statements of employees of the Survey Bureau to the effect that they paid assessments over thirty years ago. I have other statements of employees of the Department of Public Works which show that up to 1910 they paid tribute money twice a year during various periods running from twenty to thirty years.

Dear Sir:-

Call at the Union Republican Club of South Philadelphia, 2035 S. Broad street, Monday October 13th, or Tuesday October 14th, 1913, from 7-30 to 9-30 P. M.

Yours truly,

Geo K Hogg

IMPORTANT

INVITATION TO PAY POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS

This notice was served on the rank and file of City employees. Salaried officials were given the opportunity to pay at City headquarters

A postcard, calling for a special meeting of the Ward Committee, was a notice to the office-holders that their ward assessments were payable. Such notices sent to the employees of the Department of Public Works, by the old political machine still attempting to coerce city employees, during my administration, give an idea of the usual form of these "statements." In some instances the men did not even know of the existence of the club referred to in the invitation.

It has always been a grievance with the office-holders that they are called upon for the same contributions, contest or no contest. It has been responsibly intimated that the large and apparently generous subscriptions of the political contractors are later returned to them from the office-holders' contributions in years when no political contest or only a perfunctory contest is necessary.

The facts obtained in Philadelphia, and the deductions that necessarily follow, indicate that Republicans, Democrats, Prohibitionists, Socialists, and members of all parties—all taxpayers—have been making regular contributions to an organized band of piratical and self-perpetuating exploiters of the public, operating under the guise of the dominant political party. Thus have these men materially aided in accomplishing their own political enslavement.

It may be interesting to note that these dishonest and immoral practices are also illegal. Since 1905, according to the laws of Pennsylvania, it has been a misdemeanour to solicit political contributions. This, coupled with the evidently false statements, made under oath, of the Organization leaders in Philadelphia, merely shows to what extent a certain class of men will go in perverting civic morals to promote personal ambitions.

Miss Eleanor Clifton, a correspondence clerk in my office has used this matter as a theme for the poem which follows:—

THE DAYTON, OHIO COMMISSION

The five in the centre are elected Commissioners, with the City Attorney McConnaughey on the left and City Manager Waite on the right, both appointed

THESE CANDIDATES ASK YOUR SUPPORT
At the PRIMARY ELECTION, Sept. 28

PICK THE WINNERS

One place where there is no safety in numbers

Before and After

They say that in the olden days the wily politician
Would prowl about the city on a dark and daring mission.
'Tis whispered that he went for votes—that may be mere suspicion!

He praised your wife's embroidery and he chucked the baby's chin
Stuck a Cinco[1] in your pocket as he grasped your horny fin,
He kissed the children one and all without the slightest quaim,
But—as he left with warm farewells, you spied the upturned palm.

The times are different now, and you can hoard with hard-earned pelf,
Or blow your extra nickels on your family and yourself.
Political Assessments have been laid upon the shelf!

Rejoice, ye office-holders, for those once-demanded dues
Can go to pay the milkman and to buy the baby's shoes.
On Sunday you can feed on quail instead of beef and mutton
And drop a penny in the plate where once you slipped a button.
The time is fast approaching now when each department clerk
Will polish up the little Ford and motor down to work.

Obviously these verses were composed during our administration and before the practice had been resumed.

Terre Haute, although probably offering one of the most disgusting examples of municipal mismanagement in the country, did not have occasion to resort to political assessments. Mr. Irwin Gordon of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* staff, who went into this case from all sides, both as an associate of the local "gang" and an inhabitant of the tenderloin, is responsible for the statement that the grip of the Terre Haute gang was so strong that they had advanced beyond the assessment-of-office-holder stage. A complete unity of purpose between the contractors, city officials, and brewers made it more expedient to employ office-holders as *collectors* of assess-

[1] A well-known 5-cent cigar of local manufacture.

ments levied on saloons and all the divers "entertainments" of Terre Haute's tenderloin. Besides offering more attractive possibilities in the fullness of the campaign pot, this method had the added advantage of making the office-holders parties to the looting of the city, while at the same time their dispositions were kept sweet by an unscarred pay check.

Flag of our fathers, out of our heritage woven,
Flag for a city of hope, forever young,
Fling to the winds of earth our ageless challenge,
Skyward in you man's faith once more is flung—
Still may the ships come riding home, thronged with alien faces
That yearn with light disguised, that glow with unsuspected powers;
Till our fortunate eyes, grown old, look up and see you waving
Welcome to younger days and newer dreams than ours.

John Erskine.

CHAPTER II

SOME MECHANISMS OF MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT

GOOD administration and good government are possible under any form of government. It is of course equally true that bad government is possible under the most enlightened and advanced system. There is nothing in these statements either to make us indifferent as to the form of our city government or to lead us to expect and to look for the bad rather than to the good in our municipal undertakings. But it is well to emphasize at the start the difference between form and substance. Government itself is a means, not an end. In much the same sense the question as to whether we shall adopt one system or another for the legislative and administrative work of a city is after all a discussion of mechanisms pure and simple. Almost any aim of municipal government can be accomplished under any system that may be adopted. So much of the literature of municipal government has had to do with charters and discussions of one form of organization as contrasted with another that our thinking on the subject has too exclusively followed similar lines.

The drift in this field is undoubtedly in the direction of centralizing responsibility at the top either in the hands of an elective mayor or better still in the hands of an appointive city manager—in charge of all administration. A counter tendency seeks in turn to redistribute this responsibility in the hands of competent and trained subordinates—each in charge of some one kind of work in which he or she can claim expert standing. Ultimately, and especially in administrative work,

committees will be advisory only. They will be appointed solely in order to give the administrative official the assistance which can come only from different types of minds. This advisory work of committees can be carried on in all grades of work without sapping the strength and continuity of purpose that are the logical outcome of individual responsibility and action and are the exact antithesis of committee management.

The field of the municipal legislator or administrator is so broad that ample opportunity for accomplishment is afforded no matter how many limitations on action are provided by an archaic form of government. It is most important to keep this in mind. Those whose training has been in private industrial and mercantile establishments are apt to be discouraged when in municipal service they encounter the checks afforded by law and tradition. But the field is so large in which no such handicap exists that one can keep fairly well occupied while the process of bringing about changes either in the law or in public opinion is going on. A good rule is to spend your major efforts in that part of the field in which you are not too stoutly opposed. Unfortunately many city officials unduly fret themselves in attempting what for the moment at least is impossible of attainment.

HOME RULE IN OUR CITIES

The year 1875 marks the beginning of the adoption of the principle of home rule as applied to American cities when Missouri granted it first to the City of St. Louis, and, later, to all cities in that state having a population of 100,000 or more. The constitutional provision in this state granted permission to the cities, of the population indicated, to form and adopt their own charters. Freedom of action, however, was distinctly curtailed by the restraining clause that "such charters shall

always be in harmony with and subject to the constitution and laws of this state." This provision is perhaps the least liberal established by any of the states. Determination as to whether a question is a subject for state or municipal regulation as a matter of practice must under this enactment be left to the courts.

After Missouri came California, in 1879. The charter in this state must be submitted to the legislature where it is either accepted or rejected. The required population for local home rule in California has recently been reduced from 100,000 to 3,500. Minnesota was next to enact a home-rule law, which provides for a permanent board of freeholders appointed by city judges in the proper judicial district, who are to serve six years.

Other states to follow with provisions for some measure of home rule were, Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, Oklahoma, Michigan, Nebraska, Ohio, Virginia, New York, Texas, and Washington.

Pennsylvania has not yet enacted any law on the subject. A bill was presented in the Senate in 1913, but it was not adopted. It was similar to that enacted by Ohio in 1912. Chief among its provisions was that granting to the cities of the state the power of initiating and adopting their own charters. After passing the Senate with only five dissenting votes the bill was rejected by the House by 37 to 89. It was later reconsidered by that body, but was defeated, without a division being called for, upon a point of order raised as to its constitutionality.

Fourteen states have now enacted some measure of home rule. Local freedom is guaranteed by the constitution in the states of Colorado, Oklahoma, Arizona, and Oregon; by amendments in California, Nebraska, Ohio, Texas, Virginia, and Washington; by statutory provisions in Minnesota, Missouri, and New York; and by all three methods in Michigan.

Some of this "home rule" of course is very much circumscribed, as for instance in New York.

Late in 1914 the people of Wisconsin rejected the home-rule amendment, about two thirds of the voters being against it. It carried ten counties, but the existing reaction in the state against progressivism and reform was too strong. The legislature of Maryland has passed a home-rule amendment which must be submitted to the people before adoption. At the present time home rule is a nation-wide issue. Many of our states have campaigns under way for the submission of constitutional amendments to the legislatures and then to the people.

A typical provision respecting home rule was the Wisconsin amendment:—

> Resolved by the Senate, the Assembly concurring, That there be added after Section 3 of Article 40 of the constitution of the State of Wisconsin a new section to read: Section 3-a. Cities and villages shall have power and authority to amend their charters and to frame and adopt new charters, and to enact all laws and ordinances relating to their municipal affairs, subject to the constitution and general laws of the state.

The line of demarcation between state and municipal powers is by no means definitely settled in any of the states. California perhaps comes nearer than any other state to a definite statement of limitations upon the municipalities through a decree of the supreme court. New York, by the Empowering Act of June, 1913, expressed specifically in Section 20 the powers of the municipality with respect to property rights and local affairs. Some degree of constitutional delimitation has been accomplished in Missouri, California, Ohio, and Colorado.

In general, the provisions granting home rule specify that the cities must be subject to the general laws of the state. In Section 16 of the bill presented at the 1913 session of the Pennsylvania Legislature the municipal limitations were

specifically set forth. The usual method, however, has been for the courts to determine, in specific cases, the extent of limitation, and impose prohibitions. The state retains for itself the administration of the police power, election machinery, justice, the school system and taxation. Other purely local functions are the regulation of domestic elections, maintenance of highways, establishment of charities and corrections, etc. The question as to whether or not the municipality should have control over its public utilities is a much mooted one. Just how the struggle in the case of utilities will end, as pointed out in Chapter VIII, is impossible of reasonable prediction. It seems evident, however, that state control of utilities is losing ground.

Local functions in general would seem to cover local improvements, such as street paving, bridge building, underground viaducts; utilities—water, heat, light, and transportation; also parks, public markets, etc. These functions are necessarily varied, conforming to the conditions of the local community.

A modern city charter providing for the greatest possible amount of municipal home rule and absence of state-imposed checks is one of the first essentials of a scientifically managed city. The truth of this statement is being illustrated in all parts of the country in literally thousands of cases. Among the many instances in which we in Philadelphia were held up by the state the handling of our garbage problem affords an excellent example. The City of Philadelphia was and is a great financial sufferer in this matter without any corresponding good being derived from the situation by the rest of the state.

We were, and are, restricted to the making of one-year contracts for the collection and disposal of our garbage. Locally this plan is an advantage only to the contractor already equipped to do this work. If necessary he can give a low price

Public Ledger, May 22d, 1912.

PHILADELPHIA PLEADS IN VAIN

Legislature refused to grant right to make 5-year contracts involving estimated saving of $1,000,000

in years when there is danger of competition, and make up for it in other years—the great majority—when there is no such danger. We introduced a bill into the Pennsylvania Legislature providing for five-year garbage contracts. During the years from 1911 to 1915 we were able to effect a reduction of practically 50 per cent. in the cost of disposing of the city's garbage. Had the Legislature granted our request the saving would not only have been substantially increased but made permanent.

In a pamphlet distributed for the purpose of influencing the passage of the five-year garbage bill, Mayor Blankenburg wrote:

> After having given the matter considerable attention, I can see absolutely no counter argument, and I trust that the Legislature will not stand in the way of making it possible for the City to handle this feature of its work in a business-like manner. Should this legislation pass it might easily mean that through it, the City COULD SAVE APPROXIMATELY $1,000,000 under the first such contract entered into. Surely this is worth going after.

In spite of public agitation and universally favourable press comments the city's request was refused. The following editorial from the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, May 22, 1913, states the situation none too incisively:

> PHILADELPHIA ENEMIES IN THE LEGISLATURE
>
> The defeat of the bill to permit the Director of Public Works to enter into garbage contracts for a term of five years was a wanton, wicked act, such as only very reckless or quite corrupt public servants would execute. On nearly every public question, and on nearly every measure proposed in a Legislature, there may be found a basis of argument for either view, but the garbage-contract bill was so obvious and so honest a measure for the purpose of enabling the City administration to correct a glaringly palpable evil that refusal to unshackle the Director's hands necessarily raises presumptions that opponents of the bill were guided by improper motives.

In September, 1915, the news was spread abroad that Birmingham, Alabama, was adopting novel methods to relieve its financial stress. In this city, which has had a phenomenally rapid growth, until it now reached the 150,000 mark, the city government was unable to keep pace with the community's development because, under the Constitution of Alabama, the question of local taxes is decided upon by the state legislature. This important subject, affecting the vital interests of growing Birmingham, comes up for discussion *once every four years*. Efforts to get the Legislature to relieve this situation met with failure in 1911. In 1915 the city discovered that it was not only heavily in debt, but was spending $1,000 a day more than its income. Of course, when it came time to restrict expenditures, the pruning knife was first applied to the more recently inaugurated functions of municipal government, especially to the "social welfare" activities. Health officers and the milk inspector were dispensed with; appropriations for the library, the recreation department, the weights and measures bureau, and the welfare department were cut; the school year was shortened from nine to seven months, and the teachers' salaries were reduced; the police force was cut to two thirds its normal strength and several fire stations were closed; and the amounts available for parks and other recreational activities were cut by more than 60 per cent. By these "savings" Birmingham cut its annual expenses by $340,000 and the city had to depend on volunteer workers to take care of many of those services generally rendered by the city government. Whether or not these retrenchments were wise ones, the fact remains that the City Fathers made a valiant attempt to live within their means. An organization which it took years to build up was torn down overnight, merely because too small a number of legislators sufficiently realized that cities of 15,000 inhabitants and those of 150,000 have different needs and different problems.

Our urban population is becoming so complex, and is growing so much more rapidly than that of our rural districts that it is absurd to attempt to apply the same statutes in the two cases. Governor Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania made the statement, in his inaugural address, that our city population is becoming "so complex that it scarcely knows how to apply the principles of democracy." These large civic centres will never learn to govern themselves and their government will be carried on at a needlessly heavy expense so long as the state at long range regulates their affairs.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT BY COMMISSION

About the beginning of the Nineteenth Century our National Government adopted a system of checks and balances with avowed purposes of protecting the individual and the state against oppression. It was generally agreed that the necessary economy and efficiency of administration could well be sacrified to the assurance of this added safety. This principle of the national and state governments was taken up by our municipalities, possibly more from a desire to imitate than for any valid reason.

It took practically one hundred years for our cities to wake up to the fact that the weapon of defence which they had acquired through imitation was in reality unwieldy and costly to a degree which they could little afford. It is only reasonable to suppose that this fact was realized long before it was acted on, and that action itself was finally brought through the pressure of the increasing cost of managing our larger urban communities. As a matter of fact, we find the first examples of change from the old type forced on several communities by the stress of unusual circumstances. The Galveston disaster cleared the way for the commission form of government. Galveston's ill fortune forced ahead the first real

step in municipal government that had been taken for a century.

But the Galveston commission was only the beginning. The numerous changes, rearrangements, and improvements in the original plan—as adopted by cities profiting by Galveston's experience—are, many of them, so different from the original as hardly to be recognized as its offspring. The number of the commissioners, the methods of their election, the separation of their respective fields, the amount they are paid, and many other questions have been handled in different ways in almost every case. In spite of all these minor differences in the adaptation of the principles, the principle remained, viz., that a business administration capable of pulling a city out of a very deep hole was capable of running that city after it was out. The sacred spell of the separation of the powers was broken. The country became convinced, after a century of experience, that for municipal government at least coördination and coöperation were preferable to checks and balances.

The underlying feature of all these adaptations of the Galveston plan, the common denominator of all the improvements, is a single body with legislative and executive powers, in place of the old plan of an overgrown city council constantly antagonizing an independent mayor.

There are several distinct features which are characteristic of almost all of our cities operating under the commission form of government. The non-partisan primaries and elections offers one example. The main idea in this scheme, of course, is to eliminate from strictly municipal elections the influence of political parties primarily existing to originate and execute national purposes. When the names of national parties are kept out of municipal elections it is not necessary for the candidates for Registrar of Wills and Recorder of Deeds to stump the city in the interests of a high tariff, as happens in Philadelphia.

Since the cost of running our cities is growing so rapidly and has already become so burdensome, it is increasingly evident that the numerous local questions which come up at election time are all bound up in a struggle in favour of officials who will give honest and efficient government. The application of the highest standards of business practice and foresight, and nothing else, should be the issue at municipal elections. Such an ideal, of course, may be represented by a democrat in one town and by a republican in the next.

There is also the elimination of ward boundaries. So many of the evils of our city governments have been preceded by the word "ward" that everything called by that name is beginning to fall into disrepute, not the least of which is the ward politician. The division of the city into wards for the purpose of apportioning city officials is justified by the same principle that seems to make it a high crime to go outside of the city to employ an expert in any particular line. This ward idea opens up, in an even more petty and despicable form, the chance for "pork-barrel politics" as it is practised in our national government.

The extension of this ward-representation idea to school boards often leads to most paradoxical, if not to ludicrous, results. In Wilmington, Delaware, a certain member of the school board, representing one of the wards in the poorest section of the city, asked to have explained to him—at great length and in simple language—the uses of plane geometry. After having listened quite attentively he gravely decided that it had no place in a high school and voted accordingly. In Philadelphia, the political "Organization" thinks of a man in terms of his political residence, i. e., the number of his ward and division. Each city employee fills out a blank that includes space for this information. At the present time in Philadelphia no employee of the city can move to a place outside of the division in which he is registered without first having

secured permission from the head of his department, who invariably, before granting such permission, seeks the approval of the ward boss.

A common feature of the commission form of government is the small legislative council. The original plan called for a commission of five members. This number has been varied in a great many instances. The number serving on these commissions should no doubt vary with the size of the city, but the limit should be kept as low as possible, for the larger the body the smaller will be each individual member's responsibility. In the smaller cities district representation is clearly undesirable. For the largest cities a Board of Estimate and Apportionment—such as that of the City of New York, combining the idea of members elected at large with a minority district representation—seems to work very well.

Such bicameral governments as the City of Philadelphia now possesses are altogether out of date. In a board of directors of nearly one hundred and fifty members even those who want to be useful have little opportunity to be so. So it is with Philadelphia's City Councils. The whole body was organized during our Administration so that a very few strong-willed and corrupt men at points of vantage arranged everything. A bare half dozen absolutely dictated to twenty times their number. Our City Councils have for many years been made up to a great extent of men who are so obscure that they cannot be punished. No better idea of the councilmanic attitude of mind and conduct can be given than by the illustration presented herewith under the caption: "Aw, Fergit It!" This illustration is a reproduction of a page from our 1914 Annual Report. It can be stated positively that the occasion here described is the only one during nearly two years that a matter arranged for by our department with the United Gas Improvement Company, the lessees of the gas works—guaranteeing as it did a saving of over $70,000 a year

"AW FERGIT IT!"

The finance committee of Councils was in session, the potential leaders at the front, and those who do as they are told seated in less conspicuous places. Among the latter was a councilman who really had the best interests of the city at heart.

He could not understand why, if it would save the city $70,000 annually to change the gasoline street lamps to gas, it should not be done. Then, too, making the change would give work to hundreds of men, at present unemployed.

So he arose and asked why this ordinance which was slumbering in the finance committee should not be introduced with a favorable recommendation and passed.

There was a moment's pause as he finished and then a voice from the front row bawled out, with all the emphasis possible, "Aw fergit it!"

Another somewhat longer pause—the well-meaning member takes his seat in some discomfiture, and the finance committee proceeds to "Fergit it"

Seventy thousand dollars saved each and every year is nothing to them. Work at once and all through the winter is nothing to them. Better light and more of it on many highways is nothing to them. Four hundred thousand dollars added to the value of the city's gas-works without expense to the city is nothing to them.

"AW FERGIT IT!"

PUBLICITY THAT WORKED
This page printed in the Annual Report of the D. P. W. finally secured the adoption of the legislation

to the city—was even discussed. The publicity given the matter finally secured the passage of the ordinance thirty months after its introduction.

The weapons of defence which communities adopting the commission form of government have employed are generally known as the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. It was not the purpose to make a complete surrender to concentration of power without providing some means of escape should the *personnel* elected to office prove incapable or unwilling. The initiative gives to the people the power to force legislation in spite of the commission; the referendum gives them the power to reject undesirable legislation which the commission may be trying to squeeze through; and the recall gives them the power to get rid of a commissioner. These importations from Switzerland were adopted in order to emphasize the representative character of our democratic government. In view of the fact that these special agencies should be used only in great emergencies it seems plain that all of these petitions of the people should require a larger number of signatures to make them effective than has generally been the rule. I am in favour of a public official being forced at any and all times to explain his actions. But I believe that if the tenure of office is made subject to the frequent attack of too small a part of the total population we shall have a worse rather than a better class of men holding public office. No one does his best work when he is continually harassed.

There are at least one or two fundamental fallacies in the straight commission form of government. While it is perfectly proper to elect men to determine legislative policies, it is not right to select by this same method experts with technical or professional training for administrative positions. The commissioners ordinarily combine both functions, and herein lies a weakness. This weakness is obviated in the city-manager plan, where the commission determines policies and

YE GREAT TOWNE HOUSE
Built in 1707
Philadelphia's First City Hall

THE LARGEST CITY HALL IN THE WORLD
The New Municipal Building of the City of New York built in 1912

PLOTTING CONTRACT WORK

By means of coloured pins of different sizes and carrying numbers. all construction projects can be graphically shown

the manager administers them. In small towns where the city-manager plan is adopted, obviously a commissionership is an honorary position where the incumbent will give relatively little time to the work and will usually serve without pay.

Another source of weakness in the commission plan as usually practised is the fact that each commissioner has taken entire charge of a particular department, and in the public mind is more or less held accountable for only that particular division of the government. Thus instead of the single powerful and responsible executive we have a number of executives and a consequent division of responsibility. The commission form of government supplies the board of directors, as we find it in the modern corporation to which it is likened, but it does not complete the analogy by duplicating the corporation's president—the coördinating factor. In spite of the more or less natural subdivisions of city administration the whole must work as a unit. The various functional activities often overlap—will more and more overlap as time goes on—and the single administrative head is necessary to correlate and supplement.

THE CITY MANAGER

Professor Beard has told us that three hundred or more cities, including nearly nine million people, have adopted commission government, only to follow it up with a more strongly centralized form—the city-manager plan. This newer plan, which obviates many of the difficulties of its progenitor, provides for an elective council, and an appointed executive head who is given very broad powers and held strictly to account.

It is generally considered that Staunton, Virginia, is responsible for the first "city manager." The plan had its beginning

in that city in 1908. Desire for business efficiency in its city affairs led to a careful study of the workings of the commission plan, and the result was what is now known as the city-manager plan. Staunton, owing to constitutional restrictions, was unable to change entirely its form of government, so it provided by ordinance for a manager in connection with its mayor and council.

It soon became obvious that to retain the many good features of the commission plan and to combine with them the co-ordinating and centralized responsibility of the city-manager plan would give the best results. The first city to adopt this combination was apparently Sumter, South Carolina, where it was put in force in 1912. The plans of Staunton and Sumter are generally distinguished by referring to the former as the city-manager, and to the latter as the commission-manager, plan.

When we get right down to brass tacks, we find that our most progressive schemes of local government have always the advisory body on the one hand and the executive on the other, actually a form quite similar to the old mayor-and-council government, but with a somewhat different division of function. After long experience with the bicameral form we became thoroughly disgusted with it, rejected it in favour of an entirely new form, and now we have worked around to the old form with new names and a new distribution of duties. The supreme object in all this has been the centralization of responsibility. The people have discovered that centralized responsibility is necessary to obtain efficiency, and that responsibility will be accepted by high-class officials only when there is a corresponding centralization of authority. Nothing will change a radical into a conservative so quickly as an abundance of authority. The average man will accept responsibility for performing a piece of work only when he can direct it.

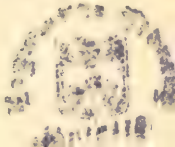
Dr. Herman G. James, of the University of Texas, has well defined this new city-manager plan as follows:

> The commission-manager plan is a form of government which combines the ideas of a small representative body, elected, at large, on a nonpartisan ballot, possessing all ultimate legal powers of the city, and subject to certain important checks in the hands of the electorate, with concentration of administrative power into a single individual chosen by the representative body because of expert professional qualifications.

This plan gives us the chance to centralize our thought on the few commissioners to be elected; and then allows us to point directly to the man responsible for results. The adoption of this plan in connection with a sane civil-service procedure to aid the manager in getting together his staff of employees, is the best plan yet devised for running a city, especially one of average size and the smaller ones. A list of the cities in this country which have already adopted the commission-manager plan is given in an appendix. Gradually the larger cities will come to this scheme, but perhaps it is just as well to first gain a certain amount of experience in applying the plan to smaller cities.

THE ASHTABULA PLAN

Ashtabula, Ohio, has not only swallowed whole the commission-manager plan, but has contributed its share to the advancement of city government by adding a new feature in the election of its commissioners. The new feature is the Hare system of proportional representation which has operated with great success in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In order that the policy-determining council might represent public opinion as accurately as possible, and not leave the minority to the tender mercies of the majority, as is often the case, a plan was adopted which is intended to make



every vote count. This plan, as outlined by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, is as follows:

1. Candidates are nominated by petition of a small percentage of the voters.
2. The ballot has no party designations.
3. The voter places the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., before names of candidates to indicate his relative preferences.
4. The whole number of valid ballots is divided by one more than the number of seats to be filled. The next whole number larger than the quotient is the quota or constituency.
5. All candidates securing first-choice votes, equal to or greater than the quota, are elected.
6. Votes in excess of the quota are termed surplus votes.
7. All surplus votes, in the order of the size of the surplus, are then transferred, in accordance with the highest available choice marked on the ballots, to candidates not already elected. After the transfer of the surplus votes, if candidates sufficient to fill all the seats have not secured a quota, the lowest man is dropped and his votes transferred. This process is kept up until the required number of candidates have the quota, or until, by dropping the low men, only candidates enough remain to fill the vacant seats.

In the adoption of any of these plans, no matter how perfect their operation may seem to the particular city using them, the important thing for the electorate to bear in mind is the fact that they do not represent the equivalent of "perpetual motion" in municipal government. Like all other human measures they must be watched. Centralization of authority is a most excellent scheme when the proper men are at the wheel, but temptation, as experience tells us, is always present. It is up to the citizens to be of an inquiring mind. Of the various demands to be made on a city-manager *full and constant publicity* ranks number one. The full value of the city-manager plan will not become apparent until we are able to promote a manager who has made good in one city

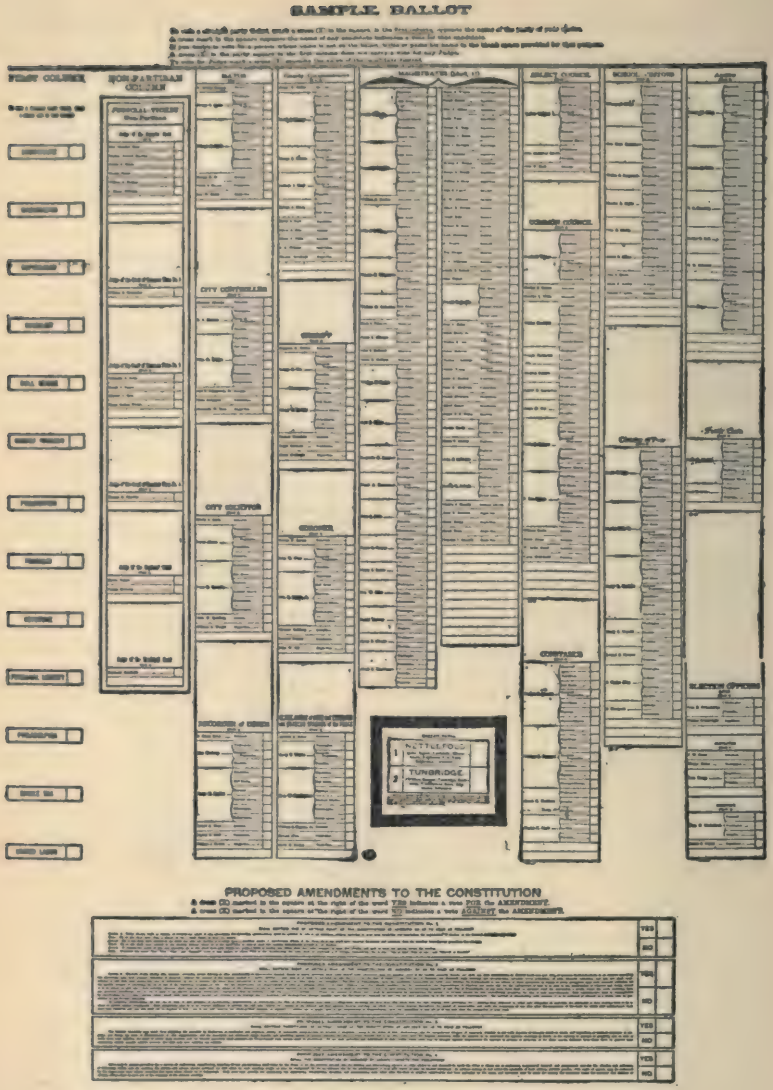
to a vacancy in a city with a larger population, consequently one with greater problems and affording larger salaries. As the city-manager plan becomes more widespread this will become increasingly possible.

THE BALLOT

Theodore Roosevelt, in an address before the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1912, among other things, stressed the point that "You cannot get good service from the public servant if you cannot see him, and there is no more effective way of hiding him than by mixing him up with a multitude of others so that they are none of them important enough to catch the eye of the average workaday citizen." This, in substance, is the evil which the short ballot is designed to correct. Undoubtedly the aim of all government is best attained when the attention of the voter is focussed upon comparatively few offices.

If democracy must include the six-foot ballot as one of its essential mechanisms then democracy will have a most difficult time fighting for its existence as the principles of business and science more and more come to be applied to government. It was a governor of Montana or Wyoming who solemnly warned the people that the "appointment of the state veterinarian smacked of monarchy." That a man with such ideas in government could rise to the leading position in any of our states is only an instance of the travails of democracy.

As long as we cling to the "blanket" ballots now in vogue in most of our cities we can look forward to "pigeon-hole" and "blind" voting. The typical American method of voting for the man at the head of the ticket and letting all the rest of the crowd of the same political faith slide along into office has developed some amusing—albeit costly—incidents. The National Short Ballot Association has accused Philadelphia of



TWO STYLES OF BALLOTS

Note the short ballot of an English town within the heavy black line. The other is the familiar American pattern

even electing imaginary men. Ex-President Eliot of Harvard admitted in a public address that he had voted the straight party ticket, not because of party loyalty but for the lack of sufficient knowledge to follow a better method.

The newspapers help us all they can, through their news columns, and latterly through their advertising columns, to find out who these lesser lights are. But it is a hopeless task. It might be advantageous if the papers would separate the "ads" of the various candidates so that each one would appear on his "party page." This would give the hustling business man a better chance to size up the different groups as a whole from their photographs so that, when voting a straight ticket, he would have some real reason if none other than the general appearance of the party candidates.

It is this blind voting that gives the political specialist his opportunity to swing an election by "working on" an exceedingly small percentage of the total number of voters. In other words, it is a process by which minorities actually control. When through the adoption of the short ballot the citizen is allowed to vote intelligently the political boss will undergo a change of type. President Wilson was much more than half right when he said "the short ballot is the key to the whole problem of the restoration of popular government in this country." Our short ballots should aim to fill only a few offices at any one time, and each of these offices should be of sufficient importance to attract universal public attention to its several candidates.

FUNCTIONAL MANAGEMENT

Sharp distinctions between different branches of the municipal service have made inter-departmental coöperation practically impossible. In the few places where coöperative action does crop out it is the result of conscious pushing. A

good example of enforced coöperation in a small matter was our last complaint booklet. It was put together with a great deal of care by one of the men in our department, and included a complete directory of every officer in the Philadelphia city government, together with his office address and telephone number and some other useful information for the person who wished to make a complaint without losing a lot of time in doing it. The booklet was paid for out of the appropriations of literally dozens of municipal and county officers—each division paying in proportion to the number of copies ordered. So far as is known this is the only case of the kind on record.

Much time and money may be saved by the adoption of various kinds of inter-departmental services, in cities of all sizes. In most of our larger cities services of exactly the same nature are run independently even in some of the divisions and sub-divisions of a single department. We made the effort to eliminate as much of this waste as possible in our department in Philadelphia. In the interest of increased efficiency we made a number of consolidations. For instance:

(a) The employment of all labour, skilled and unskilled, for the several bureaus of the Public Works Department, were handled by a Labour Bureau in the Director's office.

(b) All the paying of wages for the different bureaus was done under the direction of one head paymaster, the several paymasters previously engaged on this work for individual bureaus being assembled in one place. This change resulted in many economies, and, better still, the more prompt payment of the men. It is fair to say that the men on the per-diem rolls were paid on an average of three days earlier than they had been formerly. To men receiving small weekly compensation a convenience of this kind cannot be overestimated.

(c) Records of appropriations and expenditures were filed collectively for the department.

(d) Arrangements were made with the Department of Supplies to purchase materials formerly bought by our own various

bureaus, amounting to several hundreds of thousands of dollars annually.

(e) A lighting board was formed, consisting of the chiefs of the bureaus of electricity, gas, and lighting.

There are numerous other places where functional management is infinitely superior in every way. We developed a regular routed messenger service which was a wonderful help. An inter-departmental automobile service in which all public automobiles are pooled means a great saving in our larger cities. New York City recently reported a vastly improved service at a saving of over $50,000 a year by this means.

The nature and extent of the work done by our photographer's division is a splendid example of the possibilities of functional management. Our photographer and his assistants were called upon constantly by every department of the city government. The genial way in which these sometimes burdensome requests were met and the low cost at which the work was done was a source of gratification to all concerned. If we could have in every department of our large cities a division that served every other department from day to day it would tend to build up an *esprit de corps*. It would have a good effect in reducing the cost of government and would bring on the day of genuine functional management[1] without which no real efficiency is possible.

COMMITTEE CONTROL

Among the causes of municipal inefficiency is the attempt to hamper and control the actions of individuals by a multiplicity of petty legal restrictions unknown in private business,

[1]For details in regard to functional management see "Principles of Scientific Management" and "Shop Management" both by Frederick W. Taylor. Harper & Bros., N. Y.

and by the separation of the municipal service into scores of divisions with little or no mutuality of interest. But undoubtedly the greatest bar to efficiency is the unwillingness to trust the individual as shown by the attempt to thwart evil or selfish designs of officials by board control. This committee management is, in my opinion, the most costly hallucination of democracy. As a present-day cause of expensive and inefficient government, this bulwark of the stand-patter, of special privilege, of the politician, and of the crook makes other influences tending in the same direction, such as the complacency of civil service and the absence of standards, seem almost negligible.

The public must be educated to place more responsibility on individuals, thus making it possible to do away with the great inefficiencies which inevitably accompany board and committee management. As long as we have boards and committees they will vote—and they will insist on voting—on matters that are not questions of personal opinion but questions of fact which ought to be determined by the facts. It is one of the duties of the engineering organizations of this country to carry on a propaganda which will show to the public the difference between those problems of policy and public interest that are properly decided by public opinion, and those scientific problems which are improperly solved unless they are determined according to the facts. Mr. Frederick W. Taylor, past-president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, very forcibly and lucidly suggested this fundamental difference in some of his lectures. My opinion may be as good as that of any other citizen's as to how fast an automobile should be allowed to operate in different sections of a large city. Again the opinion of one citizen is as good as that of another as to the penalty which should be inflicted for false registration. On the other hand, the design for a bridge, the specifications for a sewer, the plans for the laying out of a public park,

the organization of the police department, the fighting of fires, and the elimination of mosquitoes are necessarily the work of experts. Such work will always be indifferently done if done as the result of a vote, whether the voting is done by the people at large or by a committee or board acting for the people. Notwithstanding all the boards and commissions that are provided for in the generally approved laws of to-day, there should be no uncertainty as to the class of questions upon which they may vote. It is a most important duty of the educated to carry this message to the people and in doing so I do not think there will be any more powerful method than to give the great mass of the people a larger and larger knowledge of the work of government and of the expert in particular.

This committee control is evident on all sides not only in government but in our industries, in commerce, and even in our universities and schools. There is everywhere a minimum of effort made to distinguish between those matters which may properly be voted upon and those which can more or less readily be determined by the facts. Too much effort is made to have democracy express itself in voting rather than in the correct determination of issues. In one of our great universities a certain departmental committee always meets before giving any instructions whatsoever to the lone machinist who serves the department. In a further effort toward this pseudo democracy the committee has no chairman; it has a "head"—this to indicate that his vote and his preferences have no more weight than those of his associates. Of course if, in the face of the facts, we permit voting, there ceases to be much virtue in securing the facts. On the contrary, there should be offered in every situation every possible inducement to ascertain the facts; if for no other reason, because the total of voting decisions is thereby reduced.

A former president of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce said of his city:

In Greater Pittsburgh we have fourteen commercial and civic bodies organized for the purpose of fostering trade and for civic betterment, composed of 3,500 leading business men and women, all citizens. The great civic questions are taken up by some one of these organizations and by them discussed and the consensus of opinion arrived at and passed on to the others and by them in turn discussed and opinion arrived at. The final judgment should be of inestimable value to any legislative body, and is a real contribution to the subject in hand and should have its weight in the final determination of any question by a municipal legislature seeking the highest good.

This represents, in my opinion, the limit of the function of the committee, viz., that of an advisory body. The advisory board, when properly handled, is an inspiration and a help to any public official. I had such a board to assist me in arriving at many of the important decisions as to policy in our department. There was never a vote taken on any question that came before the board. We could each of us estimate the "sense of the meeting," and I do not recall a single occasion when the action finally taken was contrary to that consensus of opinion. Matters were always so presented that the members of the board were not called upon to determine detailed questions of fact. They were given the facts as they had been definitely determined previous to the discussion. When in our discussions any difference of opinion developed it was usually occasioned by our not having developed sufficient facts. A delay of a week or two, during which some further investigation as to the facts was carried on, was usually all that was required to make our views the same. Most people object to serving on committees and largely in my opinion because time is wasted in discussing and voting on opinions which should properly be determined by the facts. A real committee sits to interpret facts.

Two entirely different types of men are wanted as executives and as directors. Louis D. Brandeis—now Mr. Justice Bran-

deis—speaking at the conference of American mayors in Philadelphia described the function of the board of directors and the administrative officials as follows:

> Obviously the only justification for the director's existence is that he should direct; which means that he should be an absolutely fair and intelligent adviser and critic of the enterprise. The men who are in charge of an enterprise as executive officers are supposed to manage, and to possess the required energy and determination to go forward. But in a well-equipped organization there should be men who will check up the manager's judgment and performance. Only in this way can continued prosperity be assured.
>
> For the proper exercise of the functions of the director, it is essential that he be disinterested; that is, be free from any conflicting interest. But it is also essential that he have knowledge. Facts, facts, facts, are the only basis on which he can properly exercise his judgment. It is as necessary that he know intimately the facts concerning the business, as that he have only one interest to subserve. Now, no man can have such detailed knowledge of the facts of many enterprises. This is due to the limitations of time and place and to those other limits set by nature upon human intelligence.

The application of these principles to the control of the affairs of a city would appear to be that the legislative body—whether or not a commission in form—should confine its attention to large matters and questions of general policy and avoid, wherever possible, taking up details. The truth of the matter is that most municipal governing boards are so loaded up with details, many of them urgent, that time does not afford for the discussion of large questions of policy. Especially is this true with respect to those policies involving a long look ahead. Anything that can wait does wait. The next generation always has difficulty in getting its claims heard by this one.

Democracy up to date has had a considerable distrust of the executive. Due to peculiar experiences of the past instead

of taking possession of the executive by making him responsible, democracy has usually destroyed him. This tendency has been peculiarly evident in the prevalence of committee control. As a people we have been too prone to change our types rather than to work for the improvement of the existing order. If a particular institution offend us we do not attempt the logical but slower method of improving it and eliminating the weak spots, but we cut it off bodily and develop a substitute more or less *de novo*.

Just as publicity, or advertising, is good in other departments of government so is it an aid and inspiration to an energetic and efficient advisory board. Especially when the services of these boards are rendered gratis we should encourage them in their work by full publicity of the things which they consider and accomplish.

LEADERS

If in free governments some substitute is to be found for the so-called efficiency of an autocracy, it is because we will have given a new significance to leadership in human affairs. We were told, when we were children, that there could be no sound where there was no ear to hear. In the same sense there can be no leadership without followers. Of course, the leader himself must not only have the ability, experience, and farsightedness, to outline a course of action for a free people, but he must have the power to make his followers more or less fully sense the programme and believe in its wisdom. On the other hand, the followers—the taxpayers and voters or whoever make up the constituency—must in increasing measure learn not only how to discriminate between the true and the false in leadership but must take on what is almost an entirely novel attribute of democratic people—that of learning how to support efficient leadership in substantial

fashion. An ability to criticize intelligently must more and more be accompanied by the power of rendering adequate assistance to the agencies of government. Government must cease to be a thing apart. The attitude must become "I am of the Government and the Government is of me." This is the attitude we take toward the family. It must become the attitude of the Freeman toward the State.

CHAPTER III

SCIENCE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR CITIES

LITTLE is to be gained by acquiescing in the oft-repeated assertion that government of municipalities in this country is woefully inefficient as compared with what is found in private industrial enterprises. It must be remembered that the earning of dividends is a very poor index to efficiency. Manufacturing and commercial undertakings are frequently operated so as to be able to declare large dividends and yet their practices are such as to entitle them to a relatively low efficiency rating. A sharp sales policy, an advantageous shipping location, the payment of niggardly wages, or the possession of basic patent rights may any one of them easily account, at least temporarily, for a type of prosperity which has no relation at all to genuine efficiency. Of course we are coming more and more to realize that all industry and commerce is carried on in an extremely wasteful manner. But such weaknesses of private enterprises are very readily covered up.

The public business, on the other hand, is open to the constant scrutiny of the public and to the relentless and often unfair criticism of the opposition. Its very life depends on keeping open the channels of inquiry and publicity. It must be remembered, too, that up to and including the present time we have had no industrial democracy—at least not in this country. All commerce and industry are conducted on a more or less autocratic, semi-militaristic basis and at least a primitive type of efficiency is more readily obtainable under such a system. But we are learning—very slowly it must be admitted—to carry on our

CLEANING FILTER SANDS

Under a method by which each individual workman is assigned a definite task and paid high wages for its accomplishment

TESTING CONCRETE SEWER PIPE

AN OLD-FASHIONED DESK

AN UP-TO-DATE DESK

Correspondence should never be put inside of a desk. The drawers should be used for supplies and personal memoranda only

public business as a coöperative undertaking and under rules which belong to a genuinely democratic régime. The dishonesty and graft are rapidly disappearing. Both were almost inherent in our hastily constructed municipal system. The means abound for entirely eliminating them from our municipal life. Perhaps it is a fairer statement of the matter to say that from the standpoint of absolute efficiency our municipal work is fearfully unbalanced—some of it very good and some of it quite the opposite. Then in our large cities especially the field covered is so great that it is impossible to get men and women of sufficient breadth of view and training to see the problems whole. But we pay a tremendous price for assuming that our government—in the city, state, and nation—must if necessity be so woefully lacking. I rather think that, in so doing, we are unconsciously doing the bidding of those who, for personal gain, seek to degrade and debauch us. The attitude for us to take in attacking this part of our problem is rather that, under all the circumstances and in view of the serious handicaps that are inherent in our immensely difficult task, we have made fair progress. This allows to us the satisfaction which grows out of accomplishment and at the same time makes us eager to recognize every weakness in our present situation in order to conquer it.

My own business is that of an engineer specializing in management. The first question I ask when I go into an industrial establishment is: "What is the product?" or "What are you trying to make?" When I became Director of Public Works of the third largest city of the country, I asked myself the same question: "Why this $46,000,000 of annual expenditure?" "Why all this political turmoil?" In short, "What is the product of the city?" You cannot get away from the answer that it is the development of an increasingly ideal home life for all the citizens. The answer is the same whether you happen to live in Kansas or in Pennsylvania.

The public official cannot do all he would like to do. But the same thing is true in private establishments. We wrongly assume that those in nominal control in business really control. But whether we speak of the men or the management, such control is only relative—never absolute. If much that we dream of accomplishing is frustrated by those opposed to us, we must admit that this condition is just as true in industry or anywhere else. In spite of opposition the general movement for the simplification and coördination of the work of city government and individualizing of responsibility goes on with a rapidity that must be discouraging to the stand-patters.

Democracy and efficiency must learn to work hand in hand in this country. The overwhelming majority of our citizens demand both. There is hardly a municipal campaign on record in which the opposing candidates failed to promise an efficient administration. Now there are two important steps leading to this scientific management of the people's business. The first is the organized expression of public opinion, and the second is the training and employment of experts for the public service. The first is a slow growth, which, when sufficiently developed, will make the second inevitable.

EXPERTS

All industry is undergoing a transition from the so-called "practical" to the scientific. Research laboratories have been established in a few industries. In Germany they are practically universal. In this country hardly one industrial plant in a thousand makes a science of its manufacturing methods and processes. Ultimately, of course, every industry must have its research department. During the last thirty years the beginnings of a science of management has been worked out in American industry. What is good for industry is good for

municipal administration. All over this field, the "thumb-rule" man will give way to the expert.

The circumstances under which the great majority of appointments to positions in the municipal service have been made in this country have given rise to the theory that almost anybody can fill "a city job." A large percentage of our people are firmly convinced, for some reason which is not easily explained, that municipal service is different from private service and that a certain amount of common sense and a willingness to work moderately hard are all the requisites that are needed to fill municipal positions efficiently. We believe the municipal service has everything to gain and nothing to lose by accentuating the points in which it is like the service in private institutions, and by minimizing the importance of those things in which it differs from private undertakings.

In the industries it is becoming more and more the rule to consult experts—men who know. The routine work of an establishment will always be best done by those who are schooled to do it. But if progress is being made, questions are constantly arising which can be answered only by those who have had the peculiar experience which develops the answering facts. All such questions are being answered to-day more and more by the logic of facts rather than by personal opinion, and it is to the expert that we must go to get these facts.

One of the weakest points of the administration of municipal affairs all over the country is the reluctance of the legislative branch to provide for expert advice. Their attitude usually goes further than mere reluctance—they consciously place obstacles in the path. In all but a few cases where we called in experts in Philadelphia the fees were paid from funds privately subscribed.

It is not a popular thing to discuss and to advocate experts, but whether it is popular or not, I may say very frankly that

we based our whole municipal programme in the Department of Public Works, upon the employment of experts. The age of the jack-of-all-trades, whether in repairing your homes or managing your cities, is gone. The word "expert" has come to be discredited chiefly because it is so much abused. So many of our "experts" are merely tinkerers in the subject which they blushingly confess they have mastered. Perhaps the expert who comes closest to our private lives is the doctor, and we all are fairly well able to separate the fakir from the real thing in the matter of family physicians. The fakir in medicine has certain well-recognized ear-marks. You let him practise on someone else. So it is in the municipal work. The field is full of men whose only right to the use of the title "expert" is in connection with the addendum "fakir." We must learn to discriminate here as we do in the case of the physician. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

There is no cause which contributed more to whatever measure of success attended our work in Philadelphia than this employment of experts. During the last two years we employed over sixty such advisers, some of whom gave their services to the city without charge because of the opposition of a hostile Councils to their being retained. In order to give an idea of the broad field which these extra expert services covered the following is a list of the subjects in which we secured such help:—

1. Architecture
2. Landscape Work
3. Electric Lighting
4. Highway Engineering
5. Building
6. Street and Steam Railways
7. Mosquito Extermination
8. Management
9. Water
10. Printing
11. Gas and Gasoline Lighting
12. Acoustics
13. Time Study
14. Fiscal matters
15. Markets
16. Construction Work
17. Street Cleaning
18. Sewage Disposal
19. Power Plants
20. Garbage Disposal

21. Music
22. Mechanical and Slow Sand Filters
23. Legal matters
24. Photography
25. Advertising
26. Education
27. Planning of Buildings
28. Employment
29. Real Estate
30. Sculpture

It seems trite to say that in the selection of experts one naturally seeks to obtain the best. There are only two conditions in which their selection outside of the city is warranted. The first is the case where those in your city best qualified to give judgment are agreed that the best man is to be found elsewhere. This was illustrated in the case of our retaining Dean Sabine of the Harvard University Graduate School of Applied Science to pass on the acoustics of the Convention Hall, Philadelphia. There is probably not an architect or physicist in Philadelphia who would not immediately agree that Professor Sabine is the greatest authority in the country on the acoustic properties of buildings. Again it frequently becomes necessary to go out of the city to escape from the sphere of local prejudices and connections. Such a condition was illustrated by our employment of William J. Wilgus to advise the City in drafting a paragraph of the South Philadelphia Grade-crossing agreement with the Pennsylvania and Baltimore and Ohio Railroads. To have gone to any one connected with the local railroad companies with a matter of such great importance and one in which they were directly interested would generally be conceded to be unbusiness-like procedure.

I think that a very large part of the unpopularity of the expert is due to the fact that perhaps half the time he has to come from outside "our town." It is looked upon in some quarters as very reprehensible to pay one who does not live in your own town any money raised from the town's taxation. Personally I like to think that Philadelphia ("My

City") is big enough and wise enough to develop right in her midst most of the experts we need, and thank God she generally does! But I am not narrow-minded enough to think that we have them all. I notice that all our people do not work outside of our city, a fact which seems to remind us that all the experts do not live in Philadelphia. In our opera house we very frequently employ singers who have been developed abroad, a great many of them in Germany and France. In other words, we do not lean altogether upon our local conservatory of music—fine as it is—for all our singers. We have always had a good ball team, and if you will point out to us a good third baseman, we will put him on our team, be he from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, or Detroit, Michigan. We took the pennant a few years back and noisily celebrated the event. And yet there was not a single member of the team who had the honour of having been born in Philadelphia. We simply adopted our players and they felt as much at home in Philadelphia as in the towns in which they were born. So I do not believe that a man's being born and brought up in Reading, or in Carlisle, or Bethlehem, or Pittsburgh, or Philadelphia, is the main reason why you should employ him as an expert. I believe in favouring home talent and in building up the educational and other agencies by which home talent in every possible field is developed. But if you discover that the man who knows the most about any subject on which you want advice does not happen to live in your home town, go to him and do not be ashamed of doing it, because it is done in every field of endeavour all over the world. In baseball and music it is the rule—not the exception.

A study of the English and especially of the German system of municipal administration suggests that it will be only a matter of a few years until we in this country will exchange as between cities not only those who hold higher positions but men and women in the lower-salaried grades. As the art of

municipal administration and municipal engineering becomes more and more scientific it will become usual for the officials of one town to seek assistance of all grades in any other town or city where it may be found.

In our 1914 annual report we made this announcement:

> If there is any town in the country of over 5,000 inhabitants in need of a city manager or one which wants to fill any other position and is willing to pay sufficient salary we will be glad to point out the best man in our service to take the place. We have good men and women working in our departments; we want to see them get ahead even if we lose some good ones in the process.

The too-prevalent opinion that the employment of an "outsider"—even an expert from the next town—is a slur on local conditions, is the chief obstacle to the development of this inter-city exchange of employees. Philadelphia's civil service rules require citizenship as an essential prerequisite for almost every position in the classified service. This is quite a usual provision throughout the country. The views of those of our people who are most bitterly opposed to any breaking down of existing practices in this connection are revealed in the following statement recently made by a Philadelphia Grand Jury:

> The grand inquest views with emphatic disapprobation the introduction of a new and disloyal policy by Mayor Blankenburg's administration, in contravention of the spirit and the letter of the city ordinance, of importing *aliens* and investing them with important municipal positions to the proscription and the wounding of the pride of our own citizens.
>
> This grand jury regard the permanent employment of aliens, however well equipped they may be, as a direct and humiliating reflection upon the intelligence, the capacity, the technical and executive ability of our own citizens, as a slur upon our magnificent institutions of learning.

No residence requirements appear in the advertisements in German and English papers for men to fill positions in the

municipal service. Of something over 450 advertisements appearing in twelve successive issues of the *Municipal Journal*, an English publication, not one mentioned local residence as a requirement. For example:

1st August, 1912.

Town Hall,
Tunbridge Wells.

The Council invite applications for the appointment of DEPUTY TOWN CLERK at a salary of £200 per annum. Age not to exceed 35.

Applications on forms to be provided with copies of not more than three testimonials, endorsed "Deputy Town Clerk," to be sent to the undersigned on or before Saturday, the 21st, September 1912.

Canvassing will disqualify.

A. C. ALLIBONE,
Deputy Town Clerk.

Note the qualifications and attractions offered in the following translation of a typical German advertisement for a municipal position.

NOTICE

The post of Syndikus in the Magistrat of this city has become vacant. The stipend is 6,000 marks per year with an increase of 600 marks every three years until the maximum of 9,000 marks is reached. The appointment is for life; and provision is made for a pension on retirement after long service, as well as for the granting of an annuity to the widow or orphans of a deceased incumbent of the post. The Syndikus is expected to preside in the Industrial and Mercantile Court and is intrusted with the general supervision over the legal affairs of the city. Candidates who have passed their second legal examination and who have had successful administrative experience are requested to submit applications accompanied by testimonials and other suitable documents to the city clerk before August 20.

Frankfort-on-the-Main, THE MAGISTRAT.
July 17, 1906.

No wonder municipal positions are a coveted honour in Germany.

Another reason that keeps the field of the expert limited is the fact that experts are apt to ask large fees and are frequently warranted in doing so. We have paid as high as a hundred dollars a day, in Philadelphia, for expert advice. But of course we have not kept a man engaged every day in the year at that price. We paid one man about one thousand dollars—it was first paid out of private funds and afterward reimbursed by the City Council—to advise us on garbage disposal. We give that man, Irwin S. Osborn of Columbus, Ohio, the major part of the credit for saving the city, in the four years, 1912-1915, a million dollars. We think that one thousand dollars was a good investment, and the city councils thought so, because they paid the bill, and they were not committed to it in any respect. That expert has studied this subject for many years. He went abroad in 1913 and spent three months in travelling over France and Germany and England, studying garbage disposal in order to enable him to continue to be an expert. Nobody was paying him a hundred dollars a day while he was studying and travelling. Of course the fact that in some instances we have to pay experts good fees is no argument against them. The question is: "Do they make adequate return for what we pay them?"

A year or two ago, Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, of the New York University, in one of his addresses, told how Charles M. Schwab had spoken to him of the advantages that he secured by asking outside engineers to come to his Bethlehem plant and look over its work. Very often these outside men were able to suggest betterments which his own engineers were unable to see merely because of their intimate acquaintance with the plant.

The selection of Dr. Hollis Godfrey, who hailed from the neighbourhood of Boston, Massachusetts, for the Bureau of

Gas was a very fortunate thing for Philadelphia, as it introduced to our community the present President of the Drexel Institute. The Civil Service Commission naturally opened the examination for this position to people from all parts of the country. If it had been confined to Philadelphia, the only people who would have passed any properly conducted examination would have been those having affiliations with the public service corporations whose relations with the city were to be supervised by the incumbent.

The corps of engineers, from the chief engineer down, which constructed the Philadelphia filter plants and revamped the distribution system, was in large part brought in from the outside. Indeed, one has but to read the various reports which have been made from time to time by expert consulting commissions to realize that the Philadelphia Water Bureau has constantly made use of outside engineers in all capacities. Possibly the fact that Benjamin Franklin, the sponsor of the original works, was born in Boston created an impetus in the Water Bureau which has not yet been overcome.

As it becomes increasingly apparent that men trained in the school of division and ward politics cannot be the best road builders and that the bacterial count of the city's water supply is beyond the "thumb-rule" man, we will come to lean more and more on expert advice, wherever it may be found.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

The evolution of business organization is from the unsystematized, through the systematized, to the scientific. Governmental work—federal, state, and municipal—is still almost exclusively in the unsystematized stage.

For the many, "scientific management" either means nothing at all or is a term shrouded in the mystery of newspaper stories of its accomplishments. When the casual inquirer

hears of the extraordinary changes that have been brought about in some of our great industrial plants by the adoption of scientific principles of management, he feels that the main cause for the change must be some very attractive bait which drives the workman to the performance of almost superhuman tasks. The management is usually credited with nothing more than the supplying of this bait.

Mr. Henry P. Kendall of the Plimpton Press, Norwood, Massachusetts, has explained that "there are few, if any, new elements comprising scientific management; but a new combination, a different proportion, another sequence; the whole making a different form of organization." In the systematized plant the orders from the centre particularize on what is to be done; scientific management adds the method for doing it. Mr. Kendall suggests that, under scientific management, the efficiency of the worker and of his machine—assuming that the purchasing, storing, etc., are properly taken care of—depends on five conditions, viz.:

1. An analysis and synthesis of the elements of each operation.
2. The scientific selection of the worker.
3. The training of the worker.
4. Proper tools and equipment.
5. A proper incentive for work well done.

The careful selection of the worker cannot be too strongly stressed. It is very often hard, if not impossible, to get all the desired traits in one man. No man is 100% efficient no matter how long he has been on a job, and he is away below that standard when undertaking any new work. Under scientific selection of the worker each man is put on that job for which his inclinations and abilities demonstrate he is best fitted.

The principles of scientific management as outlined by Frederick W. Taylor, the father of the movement, are of

course the same whether considered in their application to an industry or to a governmental unit:

1. *The development of a science for each element of the work.* Among the varied activities of a city there is the opportunity for literally thousands of such independent inquiries, each resulting in the assembly of data and the development of laws as varied and comprehensive as can be found in any other field.

2. *The selection and training of employees.* Surely no one will claim that in the hit-and-miss present-day method, largely dominated as it is by politics, can be discovered even the basis of a scientific system of choosing and developing a staff.

3. *The bringing together of the science and the properly selected and trained employee.* All our governmental work is now done under a minimum of supervision and control, and until this can be amplified and standardized the work will continue to be carried on in a wasteful manner.

4. *A revision of the responsibility as between the management and the men.* Notwithstanding the responsibility supposed to rest with those holding the higher positions, they assume a far smaller proportion of the actual responsibility than they should. True in the industrial world, it is even more general in government work because of the shifting brought about by the frequent changes in administrations.

The foregoing is a brief statement of the whole theory of scientific government. That these principles enunciated by Taylor can be applied to city work, as they have been applied to scores of different kinds of industrial work, is obvious. Routing, time study and planning—the vernacular of scientifically managed industrial establishment—will soon become the vernacular of the city administration. It opens up a field of endeavour which staggers the imagination.

A most important requirement for a city ready to take up seriously the development of scientific management is a modern charter involving the largest measure of home rule and the smallest number of state-imposed checks. In the case of my own city even reasonably efficient government cannot be

brought about until by state enactment the city and county of Philadelphia is given authority to consolidate or to abolish unnecessary offices and to readjust and—what is more important—to keep on readjusting the relations of those that are left. In other words, we have outgrown the idea that an industrial or governmental organization can remain to all intents and purposes unchanged during a term of years. If there is to be progress there must be a constant reforming of its lines to meet new conditions and in order to undertake the new work of an advancing civilization. Municipal governmental machinery, if it is to be efficient, must be in a constant state of flux. Just as the head of a business concern is able to take immediate advantage of a change in the market, so must the administrative official be able to take advantage of favourable circumstances. There must be a greater range for the exercise of individual judgment.

The economic fact, of course, which is going to force good municipal government—even scientific management in city affairs—is, as has been suggested before, the growing cost of running a city. As our population gathers in larger and larger urban units it becomes necessary to perform collectively functions which formerly, when performed, were performed by the individual citizen. Then our people are rightly requiring more and more from government: better schools, more amusements, greater safety, and conveniences of all kinds. If we are to meet these demands, we shall have to learn how to do what we have already undertaken much more efficiently and at a largely reduced cost. The practising of wise economies will pave the way for these new undertakings of government. It is also true that the complexity of governmental action increases even more rapidly than do the cost and the size of the field over which it operates. It is only because we do not have the figures, which represent the difficulty of the task ahead of us, that we are not appalled by it.

Permanency of progress has usually come about through wide dissemination of changed methods. In other words, a change in type is not likely to endure unless a large number of individuals have been affected by it. Usually also the individuals affected must be widely distributed if the change is to be permanent. Put in a different way, the permanency of any change affecting a type is proportional to the number of individuals upon whom the change has been made effective and by the breadth of their distribution. In the minds of those interested in effecting changes in governmental agencies, the conditions which bring about permanency are almost always confused with the causes which bring about progress. We find the same thing true in the industrial world. Most people think that progress can be brought about only through moving the mass. Those familiar with the scientific-management movement have been impressed with the way in which, during the last generation, the work of a bare half-dozen manufacturing establishments, none of them very large, has fundamentally affected industrial methods all over the world. Taylor's work, principally at Midvale, Bethlehem, and at two or three other places, has resulted in giving birth to what appears to some of us to be the greatest single force operating for good in the industrial world to-day. The same result can be brought about in municipal administration. What the problem needs is intensive study and intensive development at a few points accompanied by proper publicity.

If, for instance, there could be found one city of, say, 100,000 population where the electorate would permit itself to be guided in such a study for a period of, say, five years—preferably ten—it would do more to put municipal administration in this country on a scientific basis than could be accomplished by the usual methods of reform operating in a thousand communities. The point I want to make is this: that the improvements brought about through the routine operation

of honest, unsystematized management, working through two generations in a large number of cities would be meagre as compared with what might be accomplished in a few years through more intensive application of science in management at a few points—perhaps in a single city.

The securing of permanency for the results so obtained is an entirely different problem. However, to secure permanency for good results, especially in government, and especially in this country, is a much easier problem than it has ever been before for we are beginning to sense the place of advertising and publicity in the development of the democratic purpose.

ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY

Administrative economy has become a widespread political issue and looms large in every national, state, and municipal campaign. Just what is the relation of economy to efficiency? In our departmental annual reports we were fortunate in being able to list savings in operation and maintenance totalling over $1,000,000 annually. Each year, during our four-year term, some material savings were effected. The large and spectacular pick-ups were naturally made in the first two or three years of the administration and for the most part they were those that were most easily made. The economies effected toward the close of our term were of the kind which should be continued almost indefinitely. They have resulted from painstaking study and are made up of literally thousands of minor economies practised at hundreds of points and distributed all over the city wherever our department had work to perform. These are the economies which invariably and almost automatically result from a well-selected personnel and a closely knit organization. To make a cut of a quarter of a million dollars a year in the cost of collecting and disposing of the city's garbage, of course, is desirable, It is even spec-

tacular. As this was done practically four years in succession with a total net saving to the city of about one million dollars, the cut became almost sensational. Owing, however, to the fact that the business of collecting and reducing garbage is based almost entirely on thumb-rule and as the work is conducted on an essentially political basis there is not necessarily any gain to the city beyond the million dollars already in hand. In the absence of remedial legislation, either by the State Legislature or City Councils or by an Act of God, there is nothing that will keep the city from reverting almost immediately to the scale of prices formerly paid.[1] On the other hand, in our 1914 report we spoke of the very large reduction in the expense of operating and maintaining the Bureau of Water, showing a saving of something less than $500,000 in favour of the year 1914 as compared with 1911.

Now the greater part of this latter saving represents not only money in hand but an increased efficiency on the part of the personnel of the Bureau of Water which cannot be done away with on the say-so of any one—much less at the dictation of a political boss or group of bosses or by a change in administration. In fact, there would be no special incentive for either an incompetent departmental official or an ambitious political boss to have the bureau "unlearn" some of these lessons. No one is done any harm, for instance, through our being able to handle coal at the Lardner's Point pumping station at ten cents a ton instead of the forty cents which it had previously cost. Nor was any interest injured when we removed from the grounds of the Bureau of Water miles of useless fences which had to be painted once a year and replaced every few years. Again we learned so to manipulate our filters that many thousand tons of river mud—which, formerly, was deposited on the filter beds and had to

[1]Since this sentence was written just this has actually happened.

WOODEN CASES, BOOKS, LOOSE PAPERS— OLD AND NEW—

Piled one on top of the other. To look at one thing something else had to be removed.

THE REMOVAL OF FOUR TONS OF OBSOLETE BOOKS, PAPER, AND TRASH

Made possible glass-covered cases for letter-copy books, and other frequently consulted records.

TICKLER CABINET

Each month has its drawer; and each day its jacket.

VISIBLE INDEX OF PATROLMEN

DON'T FOLD BUSINESS PAPERS

The seventeen copies of specifications on the right are shown folded in the basket

be removed, either by hand or by mechanical methods—is now eliminated before it reaches the filters. No one is the worse for any of this and no one would be benefited by a return to former methods. These are permanent gains in efficiency.

In assessing the real value of any economy that has been brought about it is proper to inquire in the first place if Mr. Citizen has been deprived of some service which he has heretofore enjoyed and which is of value to him. In the second place, one must distinguish between those economies which come as a result of chance or bluff, as in the case of the garbage contract, or whether the economy has come, as such things should come, as the result of a steadily improving organization in which economies are a necessary by-product. Personally, I think we can easily overestimate the value of economies when they only represent money saved. Increased efficiency is the first object of administration, to make every dollar buy not only more but the most possible. Any growing city must expect to spend more money rather than less. The public must never be allowed to lose sight of this fact. No amount of saving will necessarily leave money in the treasury. On the contrary, with the growing demand for the widening of our city activities the principal value of savings is that they can be made, in a measure at least, to fill the constantly widening gap between receipts and expenditures. This statement answers the question frequently asked in all good faith: "Why, if you are saving all this money, does it still cost the same total amount to run the city?"

One of our first steps in reorganizing the department was the physical rearrangement of the central offices. A runway corridor was erected so that callers could have direct access to the person desired without disturbing others. Flat-top sanitary desks replaced the old pigeon-hole dust-catchers which so facilitate the losing of papers or the holding up of their progress. An inter-bureau messenger service facili-

tated communications not possible in any other way. The messenger travelled over a designed and predetermined route every hour between twelve regular stations.

Filing should receive a large share of attention. Records are useful only to the degree to which they can be located. In replanning forms of various kinds we made an effort so to arrange them that all the necessary papers in connection with a given transaction could be made out at one time on the typewriter. When bills and vouchers begin to move through the office with reasonable speed, cash discounts will begin to be heard of in municipal work. Much to the chagrin of the printer we cut out the use on all stationery of the name of the individual who happened to hold a certain position at a given time. All employees were addressed in communications by their titles.

Modern office conveniences have come to be absolute necessities from the point of view of money savers. The use of the telautograph for announcing visitors and telephone calls is a great factor in increasing the amount of work possible for an administrator during one business day. A part of my office equipment which I found most valuable was a wall display fixture with twenty leaves, each four feet, upon which maps, photographs, drawings, etc., of current work could be temporarily or permanently displayed. Although the dictograph service throughout our offices was never used for any other purpose than to take the place of the old-fashioned speaking tube, many of our callers felt otherwise. It was the silver ice pitcher which stood on the mantel that gave cause for the suspicion. The ice was usually delivered in one or two large lumps, too big to go down into the pitcher. These pieces of ice, after melting to a somewhat smaller size, drop into the pitcher and strike the sides making a peculiar noise that evidently suggests a dictograph. Some very well-known callers have displayed considerable anxiety when the drop came.

I remember particularly one man who was transacting with me what was, to him, important business. We were both walking up and down the room, he on one side, I on the other, conversing as we walked. When the ice fell, he turned to me and said "H——! Is that all taken down?"

It always pays to house-clean. A large city should naturally have to spend regularly considerable sums for this work. Like every other kind of work, it can be done in many different ways. There was about the same resemblance between the methods of cleaning our city hall before and after we adopted scientific methods, as there is between the broom and the vacuum cleaner. Besides getting a better job, we saved $100 every day. By directing all the cleaners from one central office we saw to it that an equal amount of work was assigned to each one.

An interesting incident of our house-cleaning was the finding of a certified check for $9,700 which had remained tucked away with some unimportant papers in the safe for over six years. The check was cashed the following day. The bank on which it was drawn felt that it shared with the city the responsibility for the long delay in collection, and sent a check for approximately $1,100 for interest.

One of the principal activities of the Bureau of City Property of the City of Philadelphia involves the custody and care of 73 small parks located in different sections of the city comprising, all told, 875 acres. By grouping these parks in such a way that foremen and workmen could be assigned to more than one park, a great deal more work was done than ever before in the way of caring for the lawns and shrubs, and in pruning trees. The total expense was $172.51 per acre. Five years before, this same class of work—and poorly done work—cost $242.43 per acre. The activities of the local citizens' associations in the neighbourhood of these small parks was a great help. A large number of boy scouts were made tree wardens. Through exercises in the parks themselves

and in the public schools, an effort has been made to teach the younger members of the community something as to their responsibility and especially as to the ways in which they can coöperate with the city authorities in maintaining these public breathing spaces in good condition.

PUBLICITY IN WATER SAVING
Every plumber and city inspector carried a stock of these to tack up above the kitchen sink

Through a publicity campaign the *per-capita* use of water was cut down about 15% in two years. This 15% represented, of course, only a portion of the *per-capita* waste; no city should have to stint itself in the legitimate use of water. Part of this water waste elimination was brought about by the voluntary introduction of over 50,000 meters. Better methods of firing and changes in the size of coal used resulted in a cut of over 10,000 tons in the yearly coal supply.

An interesting pick-up which saved the city money was the reduction in the number of openings of a large bascule bridge over the Schuylkill River. During the week of April 6-12,

1913, this bridge was opened sixty-six times and in the same week (April 6-12) in 1914 twenty-eight times, a reduction of approximately 58 per cent. The record for these two weeks is practically that for the respective years. This was brought about by asking the Atlantic Refining Company to lower the flagstaffs on their tug boats. The difference in the number of openings about represents the traffic of the Atlantic Refining Company's fleet. Every trip between two sections of the plant—a distance of only a few hundred feet—formerly required the opening of the bridge, simply because the flagstaffs were too high. Systematic checking up of city automobile records is a money saver to the city and a general satisfaction to everyone having legitimate use for the machines.

We dispensed with the services of a number of men on account of changing the methods of work. A good example of this is the large number of teamsters who were laid off on account of our contracting for the services of single and double teams. It was no unusual thing for the individual team owner to arrive at his work toward the middle of the morning, and in order to be at his stable at the time the official work day was over, to leave the job toward the middle of the afternoon. In some instances—once in every two weeks—these men would hitch their horses and spend the entire day in making a trip to the City Hall for their pay.

It is, of course, unnecessary to defend the introduction of modern methods in keeping accounts of materials on hand, as well as of subtractions and additions to the supply. Besides making guesswork as to stock at any time impossible it removes the temptation from employees whose duty it is to handle materials, and saves money for the city.

Good administration is largely the result of the development throughout the organization of a genuine interest in the work of coöperation and of a spirit of friendly rivalry. The imposition of iron-bound rules from the top is entirely unnec-

essary. Some of our bureaus were reorganized in such a way that the results obtained in two or more offices or divisions on the same kind of work could be readily compared. Thus a comparison of the cost of giving surface treatment to macadam roads in seven different districts was directly responsible for materially reducing these costs.

It should be remembered that changing methods of doing work of any kind is apt to be an extremely trying process to all concerned. The leader in any such work must learn to practise patience. Some of those whose interest is aroused with the greatest difficulty often develop into the most valuable men. If a man has always seen a given industrial process carried on in the same way it is only human nature for him to resent a change. If no special pressure is put on him to do anything himself, and at the same time he is shown the value of change through one object-lesson after another, he may even work around to the point where he will know that the present method must be the wrong method.

Fifty years ago, Gladstone took numerous occasions to call attention to the increasing complexity of governmental administration. Had he lived to acquaint the public with these subjects in 1918, he would undoubtedly have been much more emphatic. Consider, for instance, any city's inspection service. In industrial establishments, it has come to be recognized as desirable not only to inaugurate a full system of inspection from the inception of the work but to cause to act together, under the direction of a single head, as many as possible of those engaged on inspection work. In our cities at the present time we have at least ten or twelve different officials who periodically inspect individual houses and places of business. For instance, we have building inspectors, fire marshals, police, meter inspectors of several different kinds, water-waste inspectors, health inspectors, elevator inspectors, truant inspectors, garbage and street-cleaning inspect-

ors, and many others. These men, for the most part, work so independently of one another that if, on a given date, representatives of each of these groups should call at the same house, they might do so without any knowledge that the others had been there. In the Federal Service it may easily happen that the Post-Office Department, Treasury Department, War Department, and perhaps other departments, each should start a representative from Washington to a town on the Pacific Coast on a relatively minor commission, simply because the business of the Government has become so complicated that it is impossible for us to utilize our men and resources efficiently even when we desire to do so.

As soon as we learn more about inter-departmental cooperation it will be possible to utilize the police for much of the inspection work now being carried on by more or less independent agencies. In fact, the police department will be apt to undergo a very radical rehabilitation when we begin to develop scientific management in our municipalities. The policeman occupies a unique position in coming in hour-to-hour contact with the employer—the people. It should be possible so to organize the police force that it would become the eyes of the administration. An instance of such constructive use of the police department is furnished by New York City where the chief asked the coöperation of his men in the location of playgrounds. As Henry Bruère, formerly City Chamberlain of that city, remarked, in a paper read at the 1914 annual meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers:[1]

> The mere fact that the police themselves formulate such suggestions and assist in putting them into effect, brings about a psychological change in the attitude of the policeman to his community relationships which is full of the greatest possibilities for the development of police service. It is merely another illustration of

[1]Transactions A. S. M.E. 1914, Page 541, "Future of the Police Arm."

applying the scientific or engineering method to a particular problem, instead of continuing along from year to year, from generation to generation with fatalistic resignation to whatever may happen.

It is probably true that almost every mechanism we have in our public works departments to-day will be superseded within a comparatively few years. The same is true as to processes and methods of doing work. Nothing has been so sufficiently studied as to have reached even an approximately scientific standard. All that can be said is that we have started on the long road. Taylor took twenty-six years to study the laws of cutting metals, finally reducing them to a slide rule which answers complicated questions as to feed and speed in a few seconds. Examine the mechanisms in use for cleaning streets in even Washington, D. C., the cleanest city in the United States. Study the "absent mindedness" of the public which overloads its dump carts, brushes store and sidewalk sweepings into the street, and tolerates the open waste can. Continue your observation in such matters as snow and garbage removal, the elimination of insect pests, the regulation of utilities, the building of roads and highways, the distribution of water, our municipal music and our recreational methods, and a thousand and one other activities. You will then not question that science in the management of our cities and states and of the nation itself is only knocking at the door. Some of us think we hear in certain quarters an invitation for her to cross the threshold.

There never was a right endeavour but it succeeded. Patience and patience, we shall win at last. We must be very suspicious of the deception of the element of time. It takes a good deal of time to eat or to sleep, or to earn a hundred dollars, and a very little time to entertain a hope and an insight which becomes the light of our life. . . . Never mind the defeat: up again, old heart! It seems to say—there is victory yet for all justice; and the true romance which the world exists to realize, will be the transformation of genius into practical powers.—EMERSON.

CHAPTER IV

COÖPERATION BRINGS THE ONE BEST WAY

THE science of management has for its object the development of the one best way in every part of its field—and with emphasis on the "one." Largely owing to the rapid increase of the available information on all kinds of subjects it is becoming an increasingly expensive undertaking to ascertain this one best way. In fact, it is literally impossible to accomplish it without a maximum of coöperation of many different kinds. Again in the absence of standardization and a widely entertained respect for standards it is virtually impracticable to hold to the one best way even after it has been fully determined.

In the industrial field the rewards for the adoption of the one scientifically best way for every operation become increasingly great according as the complexity of the undertaking increases. And of course our cities have become exceedingly complex not only in the variety of their activities but as to the conditions imposed by a more-and-more conscious democracy. We can then confidently look forward to great economies and a vastly improved efficiency in our municipal life as the direct result of the development and application of the one-best-way idea in every part of the work.

This more or less intensive study of methods is something which will be well done only if it is participated in by practically every member of the organization—every employee. Under a democracy science ceases to be a "high-brow" activity. It is nothing more than a conscious and constant

seeking after the facts and a reliance on the facts after they have been determined. Science cares nothing for your whim and mine. It cares everything for our judgments based on the facts. Science cares more and more as those judgments are seen to be clearly in line with the facts, and more and more as those facts are seen to have been developed with painstaking care. Here then is a work in which all can have a hand, a work which will always be ineffectually done if it is confined to well-educated and highly trained men at the top. In our cities administrative leadership will in the future more and more consist in getting the largest possible number "into the play"—in having the great body of employees increasingly critical in their judgments about both their own work and the work which is going on around them.

It must be remembered that under free political institutions, and in the long run, the one best way cannot be used if the people have no confidence in it. If because it has not been adequately explained, or for any other reason the people object to a given agency of government, over the side it goes—perhaps never to return. In private manufacturing establishments the owner can frequently put into practice measures and methods not either understood or endorsed by the workers. This is one reason why the scientific method may make more rapid progress in private than it does in public enterprises. But it also suggests the absolute necessity for taking the public into your confidence if you wish to practise anything approximating scientific management. More than this, the efficient administrator must go out of his way to make the public understand what he is doing, how he is doing it, and why he is doing it. Only in this way can there be built up a sufficiently reliable public support for the one best way. There can be no half-hearted acceptance of this programme. Every possible opportunity must be taken to keep the agencies through which public opinion can be made to express itself in full and sympa-

thetic touch with governmental action. As these agencies multiply and as governmental action becomes more complicated, the task of keeping the two within hailing distance will require all of vision and devotion which the public servant can command.

COÖPERATION WITH THE PEOPLE

In one of our pamphlets addressed to the public, the citizen's position with respect to this city government was thus explained:

It should be understood, for it is true, that a city is a GREAT INDUSTRIAL PLANT, owned collectively by all its citizens. Every public utility, both great and small, the highways and all their improvements, the parks, the public buildings, the police plant, the fire protection plant and the water plants, only to mention examples—all belong to the citizens; and, could they all be sold for cash, this GREAT INDUSTRIAL PLANT wound up, and its owners (the citizens) move elsewhere, each citizen would receive by absolute right his relative *pro rata* share of the total amount of sale. The rich man and poor man would fare alike.

We tried every conceivable method, while in the public service, to get the public to coöperate with our department in its various activities. An extensive educational campaign was carried on for the benefit of the public; a large number of pamphlet bulletins were issued, including the complaint folders; and numerous meetings on matters of public interest were held in City Hall and elsewhere at which those posted had a chance to inform their fellow citizens on municipal matters. By erecting signs *on or near public buildings* and other structures, the people were informed as to their functions and other interesting details. Similar signs on sections of important highway construction and other city contract work, gave readable details as to their plans and cost. Such

methods were found to be great promotors of an enlightened public opinion.

It was interesting to note the wonderful response of the public, both as individuals and as organizations, to this attitude on the part of the department. In practically every instance where we sought help from either the individual or an organization we obtained it. One good example of this was brought out in the matter of dedication of streets. Owing to the very large damages which had in recent years been allotted for land required for street openings—approximately $5,000,000 of which still remained unpaid—we decided on a general policy of not opening streets in the absence of deeds of gift. Wherever such openings were demanded the owners of the property were sought out and requested to dedicate, and in practically every instance the appeals were successful. It was our aim to give to those developing property good service in the matter of making street improvements with the idea that it would build up mutual confidence between the city and property-owners. This method had the effect of making the owners of property more anxious to dedicate than they had been in the past. We have one instance on record where the service given to a large property-owner so satisfied him that he would not rest content with dedicating a large number of streets for which he had already entered claims for damages. He obtained information as to the location of a piece of property owned by another party wherein, in the opinion of the City Solicitor, property damages should have been allowed. He secured the dedication of this plot as a further evidence of his appreciation of the business-like treatment he had had at the hands of the department. The genuine interest of intelligent citizens is needed to back up any municipal programme. Installation of water meters received an impetus when we were able to publish a letter describing the successful experience, from a financial point of view, of a

well-known carpet manufacturing concern, of the introduction of meters.

Early in our administration instructions were issued to all employees as to the necessity for handling the public, individually and collectively, with the utmost care, consideration, and politeness. Several bulletins were addressed to department officials on this subject, an excerpt from one of which follows:

> Our policy, of course, should be to do everything we can to get the public in the habit of writing to us—and telephoning to us—when there is necessity. It is unfortunately true that most people won't take the trouble to do either unless they are absolutely forced to do so.
>
> We are very largely sized up by the public according to the manner in which we reply to their letters and answer their telephone calls. The most successful undertakings recognize this in taking a great deal of trouble to have their correspondence not only attractively prepared, but to have their communications couched in such language as to create the impression upon the recipients of their letters that it was a pleasure to reply to their communications. For the same reason the telephone companies will not allow operators to go on duty until they have learned the rising inflection of the voice, which introduces them pleasantly to the person with whom they are talking. If this kind of thing is profitable in private undertakings it should certainly be considered a much more desirable thing in municipal service, where every time we telephone or write we are communicating with one of our stockholders.
>
> I feel like adding that some efficient workers are seemingly unable to meet the public on the proper basis, and bureau chiefs should so arrange their work that this weakness is not allowed to injure the department in the eyes of the public. Such people should not be allowed to write letters or use the telephone on public business.

Within a few months after Mayor Blankenburg took office he received resolutions of confidence and offers to be of assistance from a large number of educational, technical, and scientific institutions including the University of Pennsylvania,

Franklin Institute, American Philosophical Society, American Institute of Architects, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the Philadelphia Engineers Club, and the local *verein* of the graduates of German technical schools. It would be impracticable to list the numerous occasions on which we drew on these institutions for help. This was just as it should be. A genuinely satisfactory municipal administration must be considered as an agency through which all the talent and experience and special training to be found anywhere within the borders of the city can find expression. Every citizen organization—especially those with technical standing—should have its part in the guidance and up-building of the city.

A "mutually helpful" attitude was assumed in our relations with the newspapers. We aimed to promote this feeling by means of letters, personal interviews, oral and written statements. Again, we made every effort to give them every bit of information for which they asked. It was never too much trouble to get out for them any tabulation or schedule which might at the moment command their interest. The coöperation of the newspaper press was secured to a really remarkable degree. It is also a pleasure to be able to state that we have no record of a request for journalistic aid being denied us, nor was there a single instance of an important misquotation of the officials of our department.

Business men's associations often hold the balance of power in swinging some new improvement for the city. Special efforts should be made by city officials to get and keep not only the good will but the lively interest of these associations. Their requests for public improvements such as street repairs, arc-lights, etc., should be given every possible attention. We adopted the uniform policy of either doing in these matters exactly as the association requested, or giving the reason why this could not be done. Hundreds of addresses were made

by our employees for business men's associations, civic organizations, in churches and elsewhere. A speakers' bureau, whose special duty is the answering of all requests of this kind, should be a most important branch of any city administration. To get city employees who have never done any public speaking into the habit of addressing public gatherings is a part of the work of such a bureau.

The comprehensive plans for restoring and reconstructing the grounds and buildings connected with Independence Hall, which were carried out by our Department, were drawn up without compensation, by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Among the professions none is doing so much well-directed and public-spirited work for the upbuilding of our cities as the architects. When Johnstown, Pennsylvania, decided to build a new municipal building, she enlisted the services of her local Chamber of Commerce. The Johnstown Chamber of Commerce addressed the sister organizations in all parts of the country asking for detailed information as to the local municipal building; its conveniences, its relative location with respect to various civic centres, its cost, a photograph, and many other things that would place at the disposal of the local committee the experience of the whole country in that particular line.

The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, an organization supported by public subscription to study municipal problems, has pointed out many money-savers to Philadelphia's city officials. One study carried on by this Bureau of Municipal Research covered the matter of the cleaning of rooms in City Hall. Through this study it was discovered that we were spending approximately $114,000 a year, or over $2,000 a week, simply for keeping the City Hall clean. Those who are familiar with the building will hardly hold that the result, even at this high price, was very satisfactory. It was discovered that there was the greatest variation in the

cost of cleaning different parts of the Hall, running all the way from five cents a square foot to seventy-five cents a square foot. The reduction in the cost of cleaning that part of the Hall under the City administration was well worth the effort —amounting to over $100 a day.

INTER-CITY COÖPERATION

We have all been told until we weary of hearing it that the problems of each city are peculiar to itself. This is an absolute misstatement of facts. The points in which the cities differ are negligible as compared with those wherein they are exactly the same. The grading of streets, the operation of street cars, the manufacture and distribution of illuminating gas, and a thousand other municipal activities which I might mention, are, on any proper analysis, shown to be almost identical in Lawrence, Kansas, and in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. I know there are people who argue otherwise, but they do it only to conceal the real situation. In the olden times everything was shrouded in mystery and many of the old-fashioned ones still wish to keep everything mysterious—usually for some ulterior purpose.

It is not necessary for each town to study and solve its problems by itself, and to fight its fights by itself. If we will work together, we shall solve together. In certain matters—utilities for instance—it is necessary for our cities to stand together against those private interests whose only thought in connection with a city government is too frequently something from which to squeeze personal profits. This solidarity of the cities in attacking their common problems has everything to recommend it and as far as I can see there are no dangers to be guarded against in bringing about the maximum of coöperative effort not only as between cities in the same state but throughout the nation.

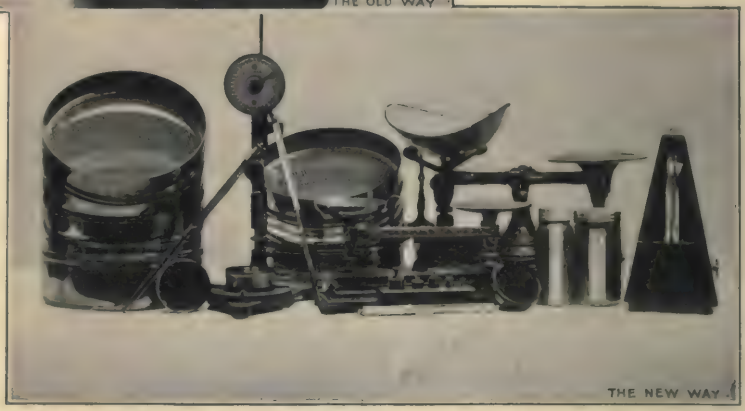
"KNOW YOUR NEIGHBOUR" EXCURSION
Citizens of Fresno, Cal., on an all-day trip to a neighbouring city

PHILADELPHIA VISITS WISCONSIN
125 leading men and women of the Keystone State go to school at Madison for an intensive three-day course

THE OLD WAY

ASPHALT TESTING

A speaking contrast - Typical of the great Changes and Improvements brought about in Highway Bureau.



THE NEW WAY

The Old Way - A laborer without any technical education frequently held balance of power in determining fitness of asphalt used on main thoroughfares. His judgement as to hardness of material etc. was determined by chewing. Sometimes the consistency was determined by sticking several pieces to the wall as shown above and then measuring the elongation.

The New Way - Under this Administration a system of inspection has been installed whereby all materials such as asphalt, sand and stone are tested before mixing and by scientific methods and instruments, in order to determine whether they conform to Highway Bureau specifications

Mr. Capes, Secretary of the Convention of Mayors and other City Officials of New York State, an organization including fifty-four cities in that state, told me that in 1914, for the first time, provision was made for the creation of an information bureau. If any city wishes to secure information it can secure all that is available through this bureau. One such enquiry was about ash removal, and another about the price to be paid for street arc lamps. The Secretary was authorized to find out what each of the cities in New York State was doing and then to codify this information and send it to the member cities; thus each of the cities had an easy means of comparing its own practice in any particular matter with that of all the other cities. Since this plan has proved so successful, the Convention is about to adopt a plan by which the Bureau will advise the members as to competent experts in various lines of municipal work. This advice will doubtless cover competency and availability, as well as fee to be paid and the type of contract to be entered into.

An excellent example of inter-city coöperation was afforded by a conference on the subject of snow removal held in Philadelphia in 1913, attended, as it was, by officials of about twenty of the largest eastern cities. Ten or twelve papers were presented. This subject for the first time was treated as an engineering problem and one demanding not only intelligent but systematic treatment. A committee on resolutions was appointed and its report, published as part of the Transactions of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, may be said to initiate the treatment of this problem as a distinct and important branch of municipal engineering.

The *Merchants' Trade Journal*, published at Des Moines, Iowa, explained a novel yet simple and effective way for exchanging the best thoughts on municipal matters:

The Municipal League of Seattle, Washington, recently made the proposition to the Detroit Chamber of Commerce that they co-

operate with one another in the matter of gathering general information. "Whenever you know of a man who is coming to Seattle," they say, "who has a message worth hearing, let us know in time so that we may arrange a speaking engagement for him. We will be glad to reciprocate the favour when we know of such a person planning to visit your city."

The idea is a most laudable one, and there is no reason why the same general idea might not be carried out among cities a great deal smaller than Detroit and Seattle. There are scores upon scores of splendid cities of five, ten, fifteen, and twenty thousand that have good live business men's associations, and they undoubtedly could coöperate with one another in the way that the Seattle League proposes to Detroit that they should coöperate.

The business men in any town or city make a mistake when they do not make it a point to gather all the information and inspiration possible from people passing their way.

In several Continental countries, the moving of the trained municipal employee from city to city in the course of his professional progress, accomplishes much the same thing, but perhaps on a sounder basis. In this case the new idea brought from the distant city is not only explained but it is put in force and nurtured by its proposer.

The rise of the commission-manager plan of city administration will hasten this coöperative movement between the cities of the United States. It seems quite clear that those in responsible charge of municipal administration must more and more watch the work being done in towns and cities other than their own in order to secure the people with whom to build up and maintain an efficient administrative staff. That town or city which entirely depends upon its own resources will find out sooner or later that too much inbreeding in this field is as bad as it is in any other. The development of the profession of city manager means that the men with successful experience will have to move on to other cities to obtain the rewards of efficient service in increased opportunity. We will gradually

develop a shifting group of municipal managers and other experts who will keep the best thought on their respective subject continually advancing. There are many city leagues in all parts of the country whose chief purpose is to exchange ideas at their several conventions, supplemented by correspondence between such meetings. Among such leagues are the League of Kansas Municipalities, League of Texas Cities, and the League of Third Class Cities of Pennsylvania.

In considering the problem of running a city it always seems best to picture it as a problem in home building. Cleanliness is the prime consideration. A wise and economical administration is also demanded. But we want also something that is good to look at and comfortable, with a little music in it, lots of recreation and other things that I might mention that go to make up the home. So also is neighbourliness one of the essentials of the happy home. The same reasoning applies in the case of cities. No more shining example of this spirit of neighbourliness has come to our attention than that of the 200 citizens of Fresno, California, who spent two days visiting their neighbours and learning how they grew their citrus fruits and what the results were. These people were not hunting ideas of government but they could not help gathering ideas for the betterment of their own city.

The journey taken by the 150 city officials and prominent citizens of Philadelphia at their own expense to the University of Wisconsin to observe Wisconsin's best in the way of government, introduced a cordiality in the official relations between Madison and Philadelphia that was well worth the cost in effort and money. The general good feeling and helpfulness of this excursion was demonstrated by the return visit of a delegation of Madison's citizens to Philadelphia.

In an open letter the City Club, under whose auspices this journey was undertaken, addressed the manufacturers and merchants of Philadelphia explaining the purposes of the trip,

the cost, and all other details, in brief and interesting form. The practical side of linking the universities with the practical in government and business was touched upon in this letter, which was signed by fourteen of the city's representative manufacturers. These community treks, where one city or governmental community visits another to learn what it can be taught, will become an increasingly important factor in building up community life. A delegation from the legislature of one of the southern states took this same trip to Wisconsin and as a result the state appropriation for education was doubled the following year.

NATIONAL COÖRDINATION

The logical development of the functional management idea in city work is toward state and national organizations having municipal activities as the object of their study. Cooperation between cities grows until the coöperation is undertaken by a central agency for the whole country, which ties together and coördinates the activities of all the cities in the country. As the unemployment problem began to attract the attention of the country, local communities, recognizing it as a permanent evil, formed societies to study the causes and combat them. It soon became apparent, especially in fighting the surface evils, that the local society could not get very far acting independently. A wider distribution of labor suggested the treatment of the problem on a state basis. And finally the various state movements were centralized in Washington, D. C., in a national bureau. It has been essentially the same in a great many other fields. The farmer is aided in various ways by our municipal and especially by our state governments, but direction and leadership are given to the work by the national Department of Agriculture. The following announcement of the National Municipal League

suggests an interesting bit of coöperation on the part of the national government:—

A most helpful and practical plan of coöperation between the United States Bureau of Education and the National Municipal League and other organizations has been arranged in order to assist in the promotion of a more effective training for citizenship through the schools and other educational agencies.

To promote the object of this coöperation, the Secretary of the League's Committee on Civic Education has been appointed a special collaborator in the Bureau of Education, and with his clerical assistants will have an office in the Bureau and will act as the Bureau's specialist in this subject.

We have given space to this matter of coöperation because we believe that up to the present time in American municipal administration there has been practically none of it, and that in coöperation is to be found the solution of many of our municipal troubles. This includes coöperation between the city and the public, between branches of the city administration, between the City, State, and National governments, and between the different cities. The time has gone by when any individual can qualify as an expert who does not coöperate with his professional associates and learn from them. The day has gone by when even New York City can solve its problems without coöperating not only with its sister cities but with every institution, educational or otherwise, that may be willing or can be induced to coöperate with it. Now coöperation is not an easy thing. It is something that, like everything else of value, has to be struggled for and learned.

STANDARDIZATION

As this coöperation among the cities, and among the various interested civic organizations within the city, increases, and as the larger incentives to municipal employment enlarge the varied equipment of those engaged in city work,

we shall come steadily nearer that goal where standardization will eliminate guess-work and crookedness from municipal government. Standardization, it must be remembered, means making the best better through the coöperation of myriad minds, rather than the imposition of hard-and-fast rules from the top.

The coffers of those who have debauched our cities have been filled for the most part from four sources:

1st. *Direct bribes.* The fear of the law and the public conscience are gradually cutting out this crude form of graft.

2d. *Appointment to office.* Civil service, with the increasing public support which it is enjoying, can be counted on to remove this abuse.

3d. *The political assessment of office-holders.* While this practice is fairly general to-day, legislation (generally originating in the West and spreading to other parts of the country) will make this both illegal and unpopular.

4th. *Illicit profits growing out of contract work.* This most important form of political graft will only be removed (1) by increasing the definition of our specifications, and (2) by the rigorous enforcement of these specifications. These two taken together spell the elimination of the feature of reliance on personal judgment.

STANDARD SPECIFICATIONS IN CONTRACT WORK

I have noticed that even some of our best engineers like to get their own "personality" into the specifications under which they have their work done. What we need to look forward to is a form of specification and contract under which these documents can be built out of individual clauses, just as a house is built out of individual bricks. It is common knowledge that the average engineer is inclined to draw up specifications for any particular kind of work, in such a way as to safeguard himself against any lack of knowledge of the subject. The attitude of our cities in the matter of employing

experts really forces city employees to assume a breadth of knowledge which they do not possess. Indefinite specifications result. The engineering field is too broad and includes too many difficult divisions for any one man to pose as a final authority in very many of them.

Standard specifications, from the necessity of the case, are more detailed than the specifications drawn up to cover an individual job. Those specifications which must serve as standards in a large number of cases are generally arrived at only after a considerable exchange of ideas and consultation and are, consequently, to the extent of this consultation, capable of a narrower range of interpretation than the specifications drawn up by an individual, no matter how expert he may be.

The standardization of specifications, due to the increased exactness, may lead in many cases to a higher first cost than would result from specifications more loosely drawn. This fact is frequently cited as an argument against being exact. But the argument is an entirely fallacious one. Standardization may not only increase first cost in certain classes of work, but it also allows less opportunity for the individual discretion by the man on the job. With specifications for city work drawn up with scientific accuracy, the old line city contractor begins to feel the pinch of progress. Witness the following from the 1913 Report of the Bureau of Highways, Borough of Manhattan, New York City:

> Such increase in unit prices as were experienced during the year is attributable to the improved specifications and more careful inspection, which has resulted in improving the quality of the work done. Several new contractors were successful bidders for work, there having been three new asphalt companies which took contracts in addition to the four previously bidding, as well as several new bidders on granite block, and another contractor engaged in wood-block paving in addition to the company which had been alone in the field the previous year. The organization and work

done by most of the new firms measure up well in comparison with that of the others.

A table taken from the same report shows very clearly how, under standard specifications, the cost of construction increased in Manhattan from year to year, but it also showed how the cost of upkeep had an even greater relative decline:

YEAR	AVERAGE PRICE PER SQ. YD.	COST PER SQ. YD. TO MAINTAIN
1906	$0.75	$0.34.0
1907	.83	.20.0
1908	1.48	.17.7
1909	.90	.11.7
1910	.79	.11.3
1911	1.03	.17.4
1912	1.30	.14.1
1913	1.49	.13.8

In this case the difference in cost per square yard in the two years 1906 and 1913 is almost 100%, but the saving in upkeep in this same period the figures show to be over 146%, so besides an actual saving in spite of increases in first cost, there was superior service. The actual saving per square yard, amounting to 20.2 cents, pays the interest on the increased unit cost of 74 cents (at 5%) and leaves 16½ cents per square yard each year to apply on account of principal. Thus the increased cost, due to a large extent, as the report contends, to improved specifications, is taken care of—principal and interest—in approximately four years. At the same time the public gets the benefit of better streets. There were, of course, other cost factors, as the price of wages and materials, which help make up the difference in cost to the city between the years 1906 and 1913. Improved methods of maintenance, as well as a street surface that required less attention, has some part in the explanation of these differences.

Nevertheless the difference in cost factors was so great, between the two dates under consideration, as to destroy a *prima-facie* case in favour of adopting specifications that specify.

STANDARD SPECIFICATIONS FOR MATERIALS

In the buying of materials standard specifications invariably mean great saving. If, for example, a number of public works departments in this country could agree upon the same definite standards in respect to their more common purchases, and then accept or reject all deliveries on the basis of these standards, the prices of those commodities would soon seek a lower level. Under the present method it often occurs that deliveries rejected by one department are accepted by another, to the confusion of the trade. The result is that the people pay as part of the purchase price an insurance fee to protect the seller against a certain degree of uncertainty as to the final acceptance of his goods.

Through the standardization of screw threads, structural steel shapes, and steel rails, the selling price has been materially lowered owing to the lowering of the cost of manufacture. The value resulting from the coöperation of different agencies is emphasized by the fact that in the cases just noted, standardization was brought about by the United States Government, a rolling mill association, and an engineering society.

Mr. Kendall, of the Plimpton Press, notes an example where twelve kinds of wrapping paper were in regular use in one concern, requiring an investment of $2,500. By standardization the twelve kinds of paper were reduced to four. The stock requirements were kept up with a $1,000 investment and only 60 per cent. of the former storage space was needed.

An example of the way in which specifications vary in different localities is found in the clause regarding curbing in three cities within easy reach of each other:

The curb shall not be less than (5) five inches thick and (12) twelve inches in depth; the length may vary from (3) three to (6) six feet.

The curb shall be not less than (16) sixteen inches in depth, and not less than (6) six inches thick and (4) four feet long.

The curb shall be cut in lengths of not less than (6) six feet, with a width of (7) seven inches on top and a depth of (20) twenty inches.

The highway engineer who called attention to these and other discrepancies brought out the fact that a variation of two inches in the depth of a granite curb means a difference in cost of approximately $1,250 a mile. The structure of the soil is practically the same in the cities adopting these curb specifications. If twelve inches is deep enough for the curb then twenty inches is gross extravagance. Even with an error of two inches on the long side, the waste in the case of the Borough of Manhattan, for instance, would amount to $568,750; and in the case of Philadelphia, having in January, 1915, 1,090 miles of curb, the error would have cost $1,362,500. It would certainly pay for these cities to get together and put up a fair-sized sum of money to determine what size of curb should be used under each of the several conditions likely to be encountered. At present we are guessing, and our guesses are costing the people a lot of money.

William H. Connell, Chief of the Bureau of Highways of Philadelphia, under Mayor Blankenburg's administration, in speaking of highway work and standardization said:

There is very little doubt that the establishment of fixed standards would stimulate and encourage practical experiments based on scientific principles with a view to improving upon questionable standards. This would be a marked improvement over the arbitrary rulings and diversity of opinion of individuals, exemplified in some of the present-day specifications.

THE SNOW ALARM

The experience with the snowfall of December, 1912, in Philadelphia led to the conviction, on the part of those having charge of the work, that some entirely new methods were needed in the matter of snow removal. In Philadelphia, as elsewhere, clearing the streets of snow had been considered an emergency duty to be performed more or less leisurely after the snow had stopped falling. "Fighting the storm" is a late development. Removal of snow in certain sections of Philadelphia at least, is now being treated as "a routine function which becomes operative as soon as the snowfall has started, and continues aggressively throughout its progress."

It was formerly the custom to contract with one concern for snow removal and only for the central section of the city. This contractor never had enough teams to take care of even a moderate snowfall. In a pinch the city was at his mercy, and he, in turn, was at the mercy of a group of team owners. When the teams did finally get on the job the method of loading was a matter of individual choice. On the contrary, the new specifications provide that the snow be first ploughed to the side of the roadways and then shovelled into piles, from which it is to be loaded into wagons and hauled to the specified disposal places. Under these revised specifications the central portion of the city was divided into nineteen snow districts, of which no contractor was awarded more than two. The methods of caring for the work are systematically detailed. Provision is made for the assistance of three different groups of workers as follows:

1. The regular street-cleaning forces, comprising 1,280 men and 200 teams. The street-cleaning contracts specify that when the streets are so covered with ice and snow as to prevent regular street-cleaning work, the entire

force of the contractors shall be employed in fighting the storm, and other snow removal work as directed.

2. The municipal road repair forces, numbering 1,110 men and 110 teams. Their work being mainly confined to business thoroughfares in outlying districts where the inspection of contract work would be difficult.
3. The regular contractors' groups. This force includes 2,000 men and 800 teams, besides 38 horse-drawn road scrapers and 3 automobile ploughs.

Besides this total force of 4,390 men and 1,110 teams, the work is partly cared for by the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company's employees. This company is obligated to keep the streets cleared between its tracks. Furthermore, arrangements were made with the Company to equip five of its large trolley ploughs with wing scrapers which plough the snow in a winnow seven or eight feet from the edge of the rail.

To assist in this work the Bureau of Police agree to co-operate on the following order:

Notify all property owners to clear their sidewalks of snow from the house line to a point about three feet from the curb line, and pile the snow on the sidewalk near the curb. The snow will then be removed by the city contractor.

In order that the actual operation may be carried on with as little friction as possible, each squad leader, besides being given the name and address of the contractor for his district and information as to the exact location of his equipment, is also provided with:

1. A set of specifications which definitely indicate the nature of the work to be done and the methods to be employed in its performance.
2. A map which indicates the streets included in each of the nineteen snow-removal districts and the nature and exact locations of the snow dumps in each.
3. An organization schedule indicating the name, address, home

telephone number, and assignment of each person detailed to snow-removal supervision.
4. Tickets of distinctive colour for loading and dumping respectively.
5. Ticket-issue records.
6. Squad leader's daily reports.
7. Squad leader's daily report summary.

STANDARDIZATION IN PRINTING

An investigation into the "Efficiency and Cost of State Printing" in Wisconsin announces at the start an "opportunity to save $100,000." Wisconsin paid $258,000 for the printed matter issued by the state during the year ending June 30, 1914. The State Board of Public Affairs estimated that this cost could be reduced by $100,000. Some of the evidences of waste, as given in the report, were:

1. Too many volumes.
2. Too many pages to a volume. The annual and biennial reports average 14,642 pages each. The Capitol basement contained at the time 786,390 books and pamphlets, 100,000 bound books being fit for nothing but junk.
3. Very brief reports needlessly bound.
4. Too much literature of doubtful value published.

From January 1, 1914, to October 27, 1914, the state sold 26,330 lbs. of printed book paper to one junk dealer for $131.72. This record, however, is an improvement over an older plan, practised prior to 1901, when all out-of-date state reports supplied almost the only fuel for the boilers that heated the water for the old Capitol.

Concerning the practice of duplications of type-setting the investigating board reports:

Some laws are set up five times. The first setting is when the bill is enrolled for the Governor's signature, the second when published in the official state paper, the third when it is published in the

bound volume known as the session laws, the fourth when it is incorporated in the biennial compilation of the statutes. Such laws as are issued in separate pamphlet form for distribution to persons particularly affected by them are set up a fifth time. The state pays for composition in connection with each of these publications.

Mayor Blankenburg of Philadelphia authorized the making of a study of public printing in Philadelphia. The result was a long step in the standardization of such work. "Standard Specifications for Book Printing," published in 1914, described the method resulting from this study and used in contracting for the printing of all public documents. Prior to using these specifications the Mayor's Annual Message, published in three large volumes, had cost on the average for the preceding five years $12,250 a year. In fact, in the year immediately preceding the adoption of these specifications it had cost over $17,000. For the three years during which we used these specifications we paid about $5,000 a year. These specifications are available for use in buying book printing anywhere. Under these specifications the regular work that can be anticipated is clearly described so that the printer may know exactly what is expected of him. Extras are taken care of as a special matter. So detailed are the items of purchase that an estimate on a large piece of work can be made in a few minutes and without seeing the "copy."

STANDARDIZATION OF SALARIES

The standardization of salaries and titles in the public service is a gigantic task which many have taken up but only one agency has carried through with anything like success. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City has probably gone further than any other individual committee or person. They have really accom-

plished the almost superhuman task of lowering salaries in a number of cases in their efforts toward equalization.

The Pittsburgh Civil Service List contains the following:

Stenographer, City Clerk	$1,800
Physician, Department Charities	1,000
Aide, Director Public Safety	5,000
Ornithologist, Bureau of Parks ("Honorary")	60
City Architect	5,000

There is plenty of opportunity here not only for definition and standardization but for equalization. In the Juvenile Division of the Municipal Court in Philadelphia a probation officer—one who advises delinquents, and must really exercise a superior order of intelligence and tact—gets $900 a year for his services. The doorkeeper in the same division, officially knows as the tipstaff, gets $2,000.

This subject is too large to allow of more than a mention in a book of this kind. It is merely the intention to show, by a few examples, which are duplicated hundreds of times in every city in our country, that there is really an untouched field here for standardization.

FUTURE STANDARDS

Standardization must be a fluid principle. It must change and grow with the advances of industry and science and of public opinion. Standardization, as the result of widespread expert consultation, is good business from every point of view.

The fight for standardization is in one respect only the history of civilization. We progress from one thing to another only as we so standardize our practice as to make the thing we have been doing so easy that we have time to do the next thing. It is largely a question of attitude. Some people take the position that to standardize is to discourage initiative, and therefore to degrade. It seems to me that we cannot have

too much standardization in anything, and that it is only as we do standardize—give definition to everything—that initiative really begins to have its fullest opportunity. The human spirit can never be standardized, and no degree of standardization in the materials and forces through which the human spirit works can handicap it. On the other hand, achievement in the future will be retarded principally by a lack of standardization and definition of "the best that is known and thought in the world." We need standardization principally in order to free the spirit for new adventures into uncharted seas.

GYPSY ASH WAGON

ROAD SCRAPER USED AS SNOW PLOUGH

TROLLEY SNOW PLOUGH

DUMPING SNOW IN THE DELAWARE RIVER

CHAPTER V

THEY WHO SERVE THE CITY

ONE summer evening while making an inspection trip in South Philadelphia I left the automobile for a moment to examine something across the street. When I returned the chauffeur told me that a passer-by—noticing the city's coat-of-arms on the door of the automobile—stopped to inquire whose automobile it was. "A city official's" he was informed. A look of utter amazement came over the inquiring citizen's face and, in a tone of deepest incredulity, he replied: "My God! they don't work overtime, do they?"

On more than one occasion I have been asked by men already in the public employ for a "city job." When this first occurred it was really difficult to get at the meaning of the request. But it has long since been fully borne in upon me that in the minds of a large number of people a "city job" is one paying the incumbent a moderate salary but not requiring that he assume any responsibility and demanding only a minimum of actual work. The most desirable "city jobs" are those which do not even require one's presence at any given place at any given time. There is no suggestion in this that the holders of "city jobs" are bad men, rather that they are men who are—let us say—temperamentally fitted to hold a "city job" and no other. There is in this conception of the "city job"—especially as it is entertained by our more intelligent classes—a little of the thought that the community owes to each of us a living and that if John Doe cannot get

and hold a position with a private employer the city should stand with welcoming arms ever ready to receive John on her payroll for at least $2.00 per day.

The character of municipal administration in this country will improve only in proportion to the betterment brought about in the quality of the individual service rendered by the average municipal employee. Nothing will have a more powerful effect in attracting high-grade men and women to the municipal service than to surround their employment with every possible safeguard; to assist them, in the broadest fashion, through fair treatment and high wages; and to place educational and other advantages at their disposal. The benefits offered in municipal work must, in the long run, total up as high or higher than those offered in private undertakings. Obviously, progress along these lines must be slow.

There is a certain type of employee, in city work as in all other walks of life, who must be protected to a certain extent from the results of his own actions. We owe this to the group even if we do not owe it to the individual. For instance, I found it advisable to issue instructions to the employees of our Department concerning the use of alcoholic liquors, especially during working hours. We established a rule that no one connected with the pay corps in the Department of Public Works of the City of Philadelphia was to use liquor, either in or out of office hours, except on a doctor's prescription. It speaks well for the corps that the initiative for this regulation came largely from the paymasters themselves. Another bulletin dealt with the relationship between the department and the employee in the case of certain classes of debts.

We will take no action in the case of those who have loaned money to employees at more than the legal rate of interest, nor ordinarily on behalf of those who have sold things on installments. Where employees are in arrears for necessities of life, food, clothing, rent, etc., we will use our good offices to have the debt settled.

The employee will be notified that the complaint has been made, and will be asked to state whether the debt is a just one; if it is not, he should submit a statement as to why he considers it unjust. If the debt is a proper one, he will be asked to make at least a regular monthly payment on it, and will be expected to advise the Department if, for any reason, these payments are not maintained. If, after he has agreed to settle a just obligation by a series of payments, he fails to live up to this schedule without giving exceptional reasons for his failure to do so, it will be considered a sufficient reason for his discharge. In other words, the Department expects its employees to be most scrupulous in meeting equitable financial obligations which they may have incurred.

A very frequent cause of missteps especially on the part of the lower-salaried employees is the fact that no sufficient distinction has been made between public and private property. One of our changes involved the removal of materials, owned privately, from public property. The same step was taken with materials owned by the city and stored on private property over which the city had no control. One man, in the public service of Philadelphia, who was permitted to resign under the advice of the District Attorney for reasons not necessary to discuss here, removed, within a few months, twenty wagon loads of materials from a store yard where he was in responsible charge. In one of our bureaus it had been a matter of almost daily occurrence to have public material used for private purposes. At one time, for instance, it was considered almost criminal to take city paint and yet quite proper to use city hardware. Some few months later the style seemed to change, and a free use of the city's paints was considered proper. These abuses come about very gradually and in some instances the actual perpetrators of the wrongdoing are responsible only in a very relative degree. Shifting public and private property so that each occupies its own ground, and the introduction of a modern stores method, make this kind of thing very difficult. These precautions afford

a very simple and effective remedy for all kinds of petty graft. A decent respect for ourselves demands that whenever possible we take temptation out of the reach of others.

POLITICAL WORKERS

City employees who insist on carrying on political work of one kind or another, either in or out of working hours, are clearly out of harmony with good business administration. Appointive employees can surely be asked to refrain from all kinds of party activity or guidance. Otherwise there are too apt to arise questions as to the loyalty respectively due to the city and to the political party.

Attending political meetings, belonging to political clubs, and voting at elections are clearly the prerogatives of every American citizen. We have in Philadelphia what is known as the Shern Law which aims to prevent the municipal employee from becoming "active" in politics; that is, to keep him from serving on campaign committees, going as a delegate to conventions, "pulling door-bells," or soliciting subscriptions for campaign purposes. These and many other types of activity on the part of public employees are plainly opposed to the interest of good government.

The Shern Law long remained a dead letter in Philadelphia. Within a few weeks after taking charge of the Public Works Department I received complaints against 350 members of our department for violation of this law. Each man was given a personal hearing, being warned in advance to tell the truth on penalty of immediate discharge if discovered telling a lie. One of these cases gave me considerable trouble because of the high position of the man affected. I think it is fair to say that I was forced to go over his case with seventy-five or one hundred people who called on me asking that he be retained. Special consideration on account of the high

salary attached to his position seemed to be the principal argument used by his friends.

Investigation developed the fact that the defendant was virtual leader of his division, and could be depended on in any emergency "to deliver" a majority of the votes. He admitted that he had assisted men to mark their ballots on election day and that he had been in attendance at the polls virtually all day. It was recognized that, if we condoned the political activity of an employee simply because he stood high in the city service and received a high salary, it not only would be unjust to the men with modest salaries who were disciplined, but would have a tendency in the future to make those in the city service feel that the Shern Law was not intended for those "higher up."

The salaries of those discharged ran all the way from $2.00 a day to $4,000 a year. Of the 350 cases, 81 were discharged, 67 suspended for fifteen days, 34 suspended for thirty days, and 54 reprimanded. There were 12 found not guilty. Action on the cases of the balance was too varied to be noted. Thereafter there was a decided slump in the number of cases which it was necessary to discipline for political activity.

OUTSIDE WORK

The practice of permitting regular outside work on the part of municipal employees has several bad effects. There were numerous instances of unskilled labourers, in the city's employ, who served milk and paper routes before beginning their work for the city. In the higher grades, as for instance among the engineers, it was not unusual for a man to have a larger income from outside sources than from the city. The prevalence of this custom has often been advanced by the City Councils as legitimate excuse for low salaries.

In general, outside work by municipal employees leads to

a clash between public and private interest. When the outside work is of an essentially physical character it is reasonable to suppose that the employee cannot render full service to the city. In no case should such work be allowed without the permission of a high administrative officer. In every respect it seems desirable to minimize outside work as much as possible and to have permission for it given only where the work is of such character as to afford the employee recreation, as, for instance, the playing of church organs or some kinds of teaching in night school. In the higher grades permission should be given where it is felt that the work is of a character that will enhance the employee's reputation or give him such experience as is desirable from the city's standpoint for him to secure. Examples of this kind are in the nature of conferring with officials of other cities on important public improvements and the viséing of plans. Nothing of a strictly routine or regular character, however, should be permitted.

Fortunately for all concerned, such matters as these we have been discussing are only the incidentals. If any considerable part of the administrator's attention is to be centred on checking petty theft and fraud, the engineer will have to give way to the detective as the city administrator.

INDIVIDUALISM *v.* MILITARISM

One of the most discouraging struggles going on in our city governments to-day is that of individualism against municipal militarism. I mean the struggle of the man with initiative and ambition against the idea that all authority should be centralized at the top. Nothing is more disheartening to the fellow "coming along" in the service. The extreme centralizing tendency constitutes a grave municipal sin, nation-wide in its field of operation.

An effort should be made to individualize credit for work

done in all grades of the service. We always encouraged members of the engineering and inspecting corps to sign the reports prepared by them thus making it possible to give the individual credit for his work. Even in the lower grades plans may be formulated by which work of all kinds will be so carried on that the man who does good work will get not only the credit for it but additional compensation. The best firemen and stationary engineers whom I have known were those in the heating and power plant of the Hotel St. Regis in New York City—men trained under a system of individual rewards for individual work.

Responsibility for the work of a department, bureau, division, or section should, in every case, be placed squarely with the man in charge. Those who lead should be given fullest possible credit for what they accomplish and be held responsible for lapses and failures in that part of the work which they direct. At the same time the good administrator will always be eager to seek ways by which attention can be called directly to those doing good work. To give a mayor credit for every good thing being done throughout the service, or to load a departmental director with direct credit for every individual improvement made in his department, would be unjust and not likely to get the best out of the employees. This fact becomes especially true under Civil Service regulations which limit, to a considerable degree, the discretion of the director or chief in the selection of his subordinates. Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto the understudy the things that are his.

When a bureau has made a particular study, reached its decisions, assumed the responsibility therefor and accomplished the results, the bureau has done the work—not the department. So also should the bureau chiefs act with respect to their divisions. The good which will result from the general adoption of this scheme is incalculable. It

takes a number of years of consistent application of such a policy to get the employees, generally, to realize that, after all, responsibility is an individual matter and that it can properly be assumed only by the individual employee who is actually in touch with the work.

REASONABLE TREATMENT PAYS

Every effort should be used by city officials to make the conditions of municipal employment compare favourably with conditions to be found in the best-conducted private undertakings. We should so organize the city's treatment of its employees that those on the outside will turn to the City Hall for a model. The whole trend of modern thought in these matters is that the Government, whether National, State, or Municipal, must take the lead. We should make the strongest possible appeal to the civic pride and responsibility of the employee. In a word, make them feel that to serve the city—and to serve it well—affords the most honourable life and livelihood possible. One of the obvious ways to foster this spirit is to equip all public buildings with National, State, and City flags.

Frequently it is possible to make a decided improvement in the quarters occupied by the men, especially from the standpoint of comfort and cleanliness. An example of this was found in the living quarters at one of our high-pressure pumping stations. Owing to the character of work it was necessary for a number of the men both to sleep and eat in this building. We found the conditions such as to call for immediate action. The place was thoroughly cleaned, the sleeping quarters painted white, and in various other ways made attractive—almost homelike. In this work the men took the greatest interest, doing a good part of the work themselves.

There are certain municipal activities which are not very

pleasant at best. Collecting and disposing of garbage is an example. There is, however, more than one way of doing a thing, and it is not necessary to carry on garbage disposal in the most degrading way possible merely because it is considered a low type of job. A little thought and common sense, translated into action, can raise the plane even of such work as this. In removing garbage from the scows tied to the wharf at the reduction plant in Philadelphia, it was the custom of the contractor to have men work knee deep and sometimes almost up to their waists, shovelling the garbage on to the belt conveyors. Those unaccustomed to such things will find it difficult to picture this scene in its utter demoralization. I have with my own eyes seen these men lying in the putrefying garbage fast asleep—so degraded had they become by the process. It is altogether impossible for any industrial establishment to reach a high level of efficiency when degrading work such as this is permitted at any point. The contractor on this work—one who had grown rich and prosperous through making the city pay two prices for its garbage removal and disposal—informed us that the men really "liked it." This work is now done with a clam-shell scoop at a considerable saving.

Uniforming of certain classes of employees is of undoubted value. In actual practice in a number of our large cities, it has produced results entirely beyond what might have been expected. No one believed that Colonel Waring, Street-Cleaning Commissioner in New York City, could keep the street cleaners dressed in white. The idea was decried as ridiculous. The parade of "White-wings," given for the public's benefit and the sweepers' pleasure, convinced the most skeptical. Now "white-wings" are a common sight in any well-regulated city.

Uniforming generally results, in private as well as in public employment, in raising the grade of the employees, especially those engaged on certain classes of work. One of

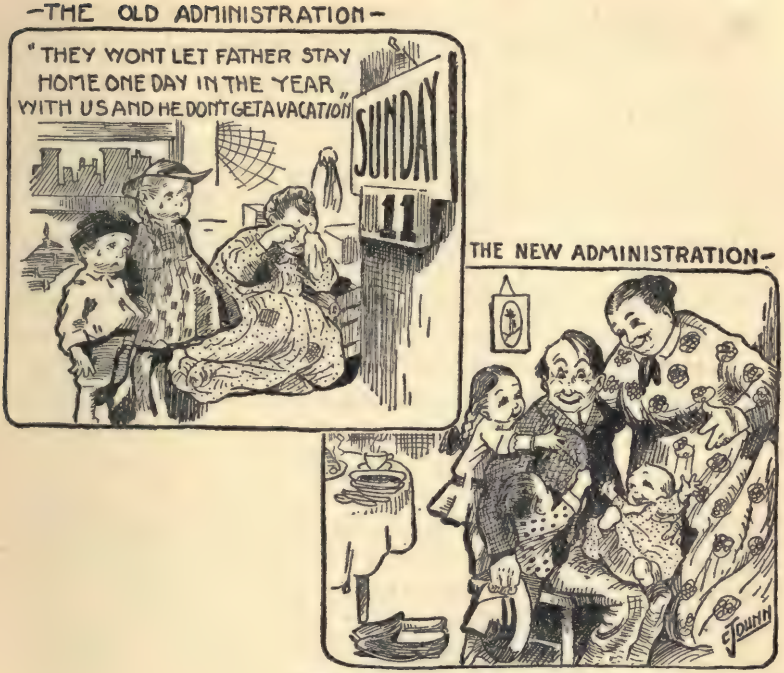
our street-cleaning contractors discovered that it was almost impossible to keep his men dressed in the white uniforms required by the contract, when the men were paid but $1.30 a day and not given steady employment at that. In order to avoid being fined for such lapses, he found that he had to pay a minimum of $1.50 a day and give steady work.

HOURS AND EFFICIENCY

It is as imperative that reasonable hours for work should be granted to all city employees, as to men employed in well-conducted private industry. One of the first requisites of efficient work, in any department, is of course that the worker be present. A total working week of only 28 hours, such as formerly existed in the departments in Philadelphia, is unreasonable. One of the first things we did was to extend the working day from 3 P. M. to 5 P. M. A 38 hour week is certainly not excessively long. Anything short of this gives just grounds for unfavourable criticism from the taxpayer.

The extension of the working week in our department had some curious effects. A number of persons who were engaged in remunerative employment on the outside left the city's service because the longer hours interfered with their outside work. Many resigned simply because they did not care to be engaged over such a large part of the ordinary working day. In some instances these men found employment in other departments of the city and county government where the old hours were still in force. An enjoyable effect, however, was the added respect it brought to the men who remained in the city's service and who realized that the character of their employment and of their associates were now more like those found in private undertakings.

On the other hand, the abnormally long day occasionally prevails. This is even worse. We made a rule that em-



ployees could work not more than six days a week nor more than 12 hours in any one day. The violation of this seemingly obvious rule was so frequent at first that it was quite a long time before we could get the new rule in operation. In the Bureau of Water, a large number of men worked 14 hours at a stretch, although the days off given them made the daily average equal only 8 hours. We found one man who worked 13 hours a day, seven days a week, and unfortunately he had been doing it for nearly twenty years when relieved.

He had never had a real vacation. There is nothing to compare with this in decently managed private establishments.

EQUALIZATION OF PAY

Equalization of pay is one of the most difficult problems that must be attacked if we are to pay employees of the city on a basis comparable with that obtaining on the outside. Inequalities of all kinds arising from many different causes have crept in, so that the city employee is constantly confronted with injustice and with a realization that, as at present made up, the salary rolls do not everywhere represent the same compensation for the same services.

PROMOTION

There must be something wrong if the city cannot afford the same opportunities for advancement to be found in the best-conducted establishments on the outside. This matter was forcibly brought to our attention by an employee who had rendered peculiarly efficient and faithful service, and yet had held the same title, done the same work, and received the same pay, for over twenty years. Even this deplorable condition was aggravated by the fact that the man had been physically injured in the performance of his duties. And on at least one occasion this was given as a reason why he should not be promoted. Bureau chiefs should be urged to keep track of their men, and wherever they feel that for one reason or another advancement within the city service will not be possible within a reasonable time, they should make an effort to secure employment on the outside where advancement is possible. In one of our reports we called attention to our willingness to lose even good men from the service of the department if it came about through their re-

ceiving better positions elsewhere. We also stated that it would be a "real pleasure to give information about any of our men to prospective employers—either public or private."

Under former régimes our Highway Bureau had practically three salary grades: the Chief of the Bureau received $5,000, the Commissioners $2,500, and the Inspectors $1,300. Obviously promotion within the Bureau on a schedule such as this was impossible. Under the new salary schedule the Chief's salary is $6,000; there are two Assistant Engineers at $4,000, one at $3,000, seven District Engineers at $2,500, two at $2,100, three at $1,800, several at $1,500, thirty or forty at $1,300, and the balance at $1,200 and $1,000. All the men in this latter class, however, are not employed throughout the year.

PENSIONS

Every new official coming into municipal work discovers the necessity for the equivalent of a pension system. It is bound to come, and the rapidity with which public opinion is brought around to its adoption will depend very largely upon the degree of coöperation we secure from our present employees in bringing the service to a high state of efficiency. If we had only the number of employees which the needs of the city require, and each of these was engaged as efficiently as if working for a private employer, there would be practically nothing to prevent the adoption of a satisfactory pension system. If we should cut off the unnecessary employees and remove the unworthies, we would be following a line of action that more than any other would lead to the proper care of those who have served the city faithfully for a long term of years and who are now unable, by reason of age or disability, to continue their labours. In 1914 the Philadelphia Bureau of Water had forty-eight employees, or about 4 per cent. of the total, seventy years old or more.

In order to visualize what happens in the absence of a pension law a photograph was made of five fine old fellows in the Water Bureau, (see page 152) named Matthew Dallas, A. Potter Broadbent, Isaac P. Williams, William Cubbler, and Jesse Way Newes. Each of these men put in eight hours the day this was written. The youngest of these men is sixty-seven and Mr. Williams is over ninety. The latter served in both the Mexican and Civil wars, and for over forty years has been working for the city. While, of course, we are proud to have a man with a record like this working for us, it cannot be denied that the city is not performing its obligations to Mr. Williams in insisting that he continue to report for active duty every working day.

Mr. Cubbler has on his record and to his credit the saving from drowning of two women and two boys. I am informed that in every instance he showed marked bravery that would in itself entitle him to special consideration on the part of the community. There should be a citizens' association in every city devoted to the adoption of an increasingly generous policy toward the pensioning of employees.

It has been the custom, especially on highway work, to lay off men during the winter months. During the winter of 1914, owing to unusual industrial conditions, we decided to retain the services of our men, even if weather conditions permitted them to work only part time. Owing to the open character of the winter there were more working days than we anticipated and the change proved a great boon to the men. During the winter of 1913, when there were numerous lay-offs, we succeeded in placing many of our men in private establishments.

If appropriations could be determined early in the year, so that work of all kinds could be begun earlier, and spread out over a longer period, it would be possible for our bureaus to get along with a smaller number of men at the peak. This would

mean a smaller labouring force and make it possible to keep our men more steadily employed throughout the year. Again, if the coöperation of the money-voting power could be secured so that appropriations made to one branch of the administration for a certain kind of work could be expended by another division, other ways might be opened for increasing the continuity of employment. Interrupted employment is one of the grave industrial weaknesses of our country and no class of employers is more callous in this respect than are our large municipalities.

FRIENDLINESS IN THE DEPARTMENT

In any family of 4,000—such as constituted our body of workers in the Philadelphia Public Works Department—there is sure to be an indefinite amount of sickness, poverty, and distress of one kind or another. Miss Lillian J. Gibbs acted as my secretary for social work and gave her entire time to representing me in doing what should be done by any self-respecting and community-respecting employer in every such instance brought to our attention. Miss Gibbs was not a welfare worker in the common acceptance of that term. She had well-defined duties such as looking after the cleanliness and sanitation of the sleeping and dining quarters operated by the city. But for the most part her time was unassigned and was filled in responding to calls. Her services were never imposed on any one. She rarely made reports and those she did make were usually at the request of some one of my associates who "wanted the Director to know."

A large part of Miss Gibbs's activities came to my attention only indirectly. I know that she went to the hospitals every day to visit the employees who were sick, sometimes taking flowers or fruit, that she straightened out the financial difficulties of the poorer families, and that she influenced some

men to stop excessive drinking. As to full details I am, and always have been, entirely ignorant. We must be particularly careful on this point, for much of the activity of such a person so engaged is accomplished under the handicap of suspicion.

Perhaps the most important part of her duties was done in the capacity of "home adviser" in which she assisted the wives of department employees to practise the more advanced methods of household economy. Through practising the methods taught by Miss Gibbs some of the men, even those on low salaries, have been able to acquire small homes of their own.

One of the greatest hardships that men working for the city have had to bear, particularly men paid by the day, is that of having either to face financial loss when temporarily laid off through sickness or some other reason, or else putting themselves under obligations to the ward leader. A birth or a death in a family living on $2.00 a day is a mighty serious thing. So is an illness that lasts for more than a day or two, or an injury. Miss Gibbs arranged to meet every request for a temporary loan and through these loans the department never lost a penny. I consider this work as legitimate a part of the department's activity as supplying the city with pure water, or abolishing grade crossings. The day is not far distant when it will be a regular feature of all municipal departments of any size, and instead of a single social worker there will doubtless be a corps of such workers, including a physician, a dentist, a nurse, a librarian, an educational adviser, and an athletic director.

PRIZE COMPETITIONS

In connection with the question of the individuality of employees—that is, individual responsibility and individual credit—the question of prize competitions arises. One of

ANNUAL DINNER D. P. W. CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

1,300 employees celebrate the birthday of Benjamin Franklin, the founder of the Department

ANNUAL BANQUET 15TH WARD REPUBLICAN CLUB

Street Cleaning Forces
Street Cleaning Drivers & Helpers
Summer
Bridge Operators & Watchmen
Wet Weather
Foremen of Street Cleaning
Winter
Typical
HIGHWAY BUREAU
Uniforms

the principal objects of the prize competition is to bring home to each individual employee a feeling of interest in his own work and of responsibility for it. As municipal work becomes more standardized it is going to be increasingly profitable to offer a large number of prizes, covering different phases of the work, to be given to those who get the results. This method can be adopted only when the prevalent military basis of municipal administration is laid aside.

Our call for a prize contest for photographs, sketches, or statements which would show improvements that had been made by our department, was answered by over 200 separate entries. One of these entries, by the Superintendent of Meters, Arthur C. Merrill, of the Bureau of Water, described an improvement which is indicative of the new spirit in municipal government:

> The establishment of a commissary department in the Bureau of Water to provide meals for the men engaged in emergency work is a step in the right direction. It has been installed at a very small cost and in addition to decreasing the hardship required of these men at such times, it will return many fold its cost by giving each man an increased efficiency. Work of this nature usually comes in severe weather and invariably requires continuous attention both night and day until the job is completed. Unless the break has occurred near a place where food can be bought during the night, the men have been obliged to practise Christian Science and believe that they were not hungry and did not need warm drinks unless some thoughtful citizen in the neighbourhood took pity on them and made a pot of coffee and some sandwiches. Happily this condition is now ancient history and the Water Bureau, while looking out for the welfare of its workmen, has decreased the time which any section of the city might be deprived of its normal water supply through breaks in its distribution system.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

There are numerous ways in which the healthful dignity of the city employee may be increased. Proper dignity

means *esprit de corps*, and *esprit de corps* means efficiency. For instance, it was my custom while in office to fix one night in every month when employees could meet me in my office to discuss any matter of interest to them when there was no pressure of business to interfere with my giving to each matter all the necessary time. The employees always seemed to be more at ease at these "out-of-hours" chats. The Mayor's reception for employees of the city and their families on New Year's day was another move intended to enhance the dignity of the municipal service and to contribute to its democratic spirit.

Employees should also be encouraged to come together in a social way in departmental affairs held outside of working hours. And the same is true with respect to bureaus. Our Department of Public Works held an annual banquet on Franklin's Birthday. These banquets were great promoters of a spirit of comradeship throughout the department. Our 1914 banquet was attended by 1,300 men and women. Mayor Mitchel of New York, who has since paid with his life for gallant service in war as well as in peace, and Mayor Blankenburg of Philadelphia were our guests of honour. The Water Bureau Beneficial Association held some very interesting vaudeville entertainments.

ATHLETICS

Inter-departmental athletics is another agency of value in developing a spirit of good fellowship among city employees. Our bureau baseball teams fought with a real live interest for the Director's Cup. The women's tennis club boasted the use of two courts and gave several successful dances.

These athletic activities of course require money for their conduct and the "benefit" entertainment is a logical method

of raising these funds. At such a function the employees work together without compensation for the common good. No work is ever done quite so spontaneously; and the development of just this spirit is the *summum bonum* of any organization that is out for results. An athletic field for the use of city employees is the natural result. If this matter of organized recreation is a good thing for department stores and manufacturing establishments, why not for the city? After watching through three years the development of inter-bureau athletics the Philadelphia City Councils gave to our department not only a good-sized athletic field but $5,000 with which to equip it.

When a feeling of coöperation and good fellowship has been developed in a large body of workers, the spirit so inculcated will soon begin to find a broader and broader outlet. The workers will want to help those to whom help means most. The spirit is self-nourishing and contagious. You cannot stop it. During the Christmas season of 1915 the members of our department, through contributions of money and toys, brightened the homes of about one hundred and fifty fellow employees. The contributions were both liberal and widely distributed through the several bureaus. This work, which involved considerable labour, was done by a large number of employees who voluntarily gave up their evenings just prior to Christmas and New Year for the preparation of baskets containing food and other gifts under the leadership of Miss Gibbs. Of course everyone will agree that the spirit that prompts and carries through such a program leads directly to departmental efficiency.

SOCIETIES

During the fall of 1913 the Society of Municipal Engineers of the City of Philadelphia was organized and over three hun-

dred employees occupying technical positions in the several departments joined it. The Society met once a month for the presentation of technical papers and for social intercourse. As the membership was drawn from all the departments, it had the effect of bringing more intimately together the several branches of the city's technical work. A special effort was made to draw into its membership and activities the younger men and those occupying the less conspicuous positions.

Our Bureau of Water organized a society known as the Mutual Beneficial and Protective Association, the chief object of which was perhaps to secure higher wages for its members. Here is another form of organization that may accomplish great good. The indirect results of this one were manifold. Social intercourse built up a bureau solidarity. The payment of sick benefits soon developed. A division was formed for loaning small sums to members. Finally, the association was unexpectedly and almost unconsciously made one of the important factors in increasing the efficiency of the bureau. An interesting case in point, and the way in which it was handled, is explained by the following correspondence exchanged between the Chief of the Bureau of Water, and the Secretary of this Mutual Beneficial and Protective Association. The representative character of this case warrants full quotation.

Letter No. 1

MUTUAL BENEFICIAL AND PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION,
MR. GEORGE S. MEHAFFEY, Secretary.

September 17, 1915.

GENTLEMEN:

I am somewhat undecided in regard to the action I should take in a matter affecting one of your members. I would appreciate it if you would refer this case to a committee with instructions for them to consider it and give me the results of their conclusions. Natur-

ally I do not bind myself to abide by their advice but I should much appreciate having it as a guide in reaching a fair and just conclusion.

Without using names, either of individuals or places, I will indicate the occurrence. Last Saturday afternoon I approached a certain plant and noticed a man reading a newspaper outside of the building. This man's duties required constant attention on his part inside the building. As I entered the building a fellow-employé of this particular individual left his duties and ran outside the building with the evident purpose of telling the said individual that I was coming. When I reached the place, the said individual had left the outside of the building and was at his post. The man who gave the warning was walking outside the building to enter by another door. While the intent to warn was at first denied, it was later admitted by both parties.

Now I ask your opinion as to the action I should take. It seems to me that both parties are more willing to be privy to wrong-doing than to help maintain the high standard for which I thought we all aimed in the Bureau.

Personally I feel hurt by this occurrence. I want to feel that I can trust the whole corps of the Water Bureau and I likewise want to have the Water Bureau feel that they can trust me. In other words, I want to play fair.

If your committee would consider this case and advise me, I should much appreciate it.

Very truly yours,
CARLETON E. DAVIS,
Chief of Bureau.

Letter No. 2

September 23, 1915.

MR. CARLETON E. DAVIS,
Chief of Bureau of Water.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter dated Sept. 17th received and wishing to apologize for not responding sooner, but offering as an excuse, your letter being received by a former secretary and the time consumed in getting the Executive Committee in session.

We wish to thank you for taking into your confidence our organization. We feel highly elated over the sentiment displayed in your letter and assure you that the precedent which you have

established, that of conferring with our association on a question of this kind, will be long and pleasantly remembered.

Your letter was duly considered and it was unanimously decided that the association having made a stand to promote better working conditions and to create a spirit of fellowship between the workmen and the heads of departments and wherever possible to improve the efficiency of our bureau. That we could not, at this time, tolerate or countenance the actions of our two members. It is unfortunate that our two members are in such a predicament as you describe, but it was agreed that they should be punished for their wrong doings as you, in your good judgment, should decide, but being prompted by a fraternal spirit in their defense, we ask that you liken us to a jury who pronounces the defendant guilty but with mercy from the court, which in this case is your honoured self; provided that after investigating their standing and finding their records clean, that they are reprimanded severely enough to learn them a lesson and set an example for the rest at the plant, so there will be no repetition and the efficiency at this particular plant will reach that high elevation which has been your aim and object to establish in the Water Bureau since you have been with us.

Again thanking you for your courtesy, we remain,

Very respectfully yours,
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MUTUAL BENEFICIAL AND PROTECTIVE ASS'N OF THE BUREAU OF WATER.
R. M. J. LIVEZEY,
Sec'y.

Letter No. 3

September 24, 1915.

MUTUAL BENEFICIAL AND PROTECTIVE ASS'N,
Bureau of Water,
MR. R. M. J. LIVEZEY, Sec'y.

GENTLEMEN:

I have received your communication of the 23d and appreciate the interest your Association has taken in the matter submitted for your consideration.

. . . . . .

In the cases presented to you I propose to leave action entirely in your hands. I shall not furnish you with names as I do not ask that you take action towards individuals.

I feel that if knowledge of the sentiment expressed in your letter is spread throughout your membership, the ends we all desire to reach will be accomplished. The method by which you spread this information is entirely at your own discretion.

I wish, however, you would transmit to all of your membership as coming from me the statement that I have no desire to set myself up as a court nor as a dictator. All I ask is your coöperation in a spirit of fairness to do what we all know to be right.

Very truly yours,
CARLETON E. DAVIS,
Chief of Bureau.

A Circular Letter No. 4

October 11, 1915.

To Members of the Mutual Beneficial and Protective Association.

DEAR BROTHER:

At our last meeting, held Thursday evening, October 7, 1915, your Secretary was instructed to send the following to the various stations connected with the Bureau of Water.

Chief Carleton E. Davis, while on a visit to a certain station, noticed an employee reading a newspaper outside the building when his duties required constant attention inside, and the attempt of another employee to warn the individual, when the presence of the Chief was discovered. The men being immediately reprimanded and the case subsequently turned over to the Association for consideration, as the offenders are two of our members.

Our Chief has placed this question fairly and squarely before our Association and while the act committed warranted an action on his part detrimental to our two members, yet he feels that in the Association handling the case properly, better results can be obtained, more efficient effort realized, and the Department benefited.

It is the wish of your Association that it be clearly understood that we will endeavour to assist our members if imposed on, or unjustly treated, but will not uphold, protect, or defend any violations of the rules and regulations of our Bureau.

Our aim and object has been to obtain the respect and closer relationship with the heads of our Department and to assist in this grand effort, we as individuals must set the example and if we notice any deviation from the path of duty by any of our fellow workmen,

to immediately admonish and suggest to them to act differently. To obtain respect, we must establish confidence and at all times prove trustworthy.

Our Chief has set the pace to reach the highest standard of efficiency. It is the desire of our Association that each one of us enter this race and although he leads, we can follow him closely and the ends we all desire to reach can be accomplished.

Very respectfully yours,
R. M. J. Livezey,
Secretary.

Letter No. 5

October 13, 1915.

Mr. R. M. J. Livezey, Sec'y,
Mutual Beneficial and Protective Ass'n.,
Bureau of Water.

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of October 11th with enclosed circular letter to your members. I thank you for giving me this copy as I feel that it will help to accomplish the ends for which we all aim.

Both Director Cooke and myself appreciate the cordial spirit with which the Association is striving to meet the standards which we have set for ourselves. I want again to assure you of the fact that we look to you as our associates in the Water Bureau for mutual help and that it is with this spirit that we desire to carry on our share of the work.

Very truly yours,
Carleton E. Davis,
Chief of Bureau.

Each of the pumping stations had its own system for warning employees of the approach of the "higher ups." It was some time before I discovered that the steam whistle at one of these plants was always blown when my automobile was a block away. This gave everyone a chance to "get busy" before I turned up.

"Gum-shoe" work has no place in an organization assumed to be made up of self-respecting men. If definite evidences of crime are laid before a public officer of course he is only

safeguarding the public interest in conducting an investigation along the lines usually followed in both public and private business. But in every instance, both in matters of this kind and in keeping track of the routine work of the department, we found it desirable to deal through the regular organization. We depended absolutely upon our bureau chiefs—first, last, and all the time. And we urged them to take the same attitude toward their division heads, and, in turn, these men were encouraged to build up relations of this kind with those whose work they had the honour to direct. Espionage of any kind was not only not encouraged; it was not tolerated. On the other hand, "hush-business" was taboo. We tried to make it the fashion to drag the scandal or near-scandal out into the open in the hope that fresh air might have a good effect. There is nothing so demoralizing to an individual or to an organization as the fear of facts. On the other hand, it is pure joy to work with men who are not afraid to admit mistakes.

Of course the quite obvious inference is that the organization must be made up of men and women of a calibre capable of doing good work—their best work—in an atmosphere of this kind. We never had any hesitation in making those changes in personnel necessary to effect this result. I inherited, for instance, one bureau chief who, so far as we could find out after a diligent search continued over months, was not allowed to affect the work entrusted to him one iota over the long period of years during which he held his position. There was nothing to show that he had either the desire or the ability to affect it. There was another chief in nominal charge of another bureau who, whether he knew it or not, was not allowed during most of the time to see those who called on him, to open his mail, or to answer telephone calls. The depressing effect, especially on capable and high-spirited men, of a system of this kind is simply inexpressible.

DISCIPLINE AND DISCHARGE

It is quite usual to assume that the civil-service laws protect inefficiency in governmental work. The civil-service system should not prevent the appointing officer from dispensing with the service of an unwilling, inefficient, or otherwise undesirable employee. This subject was covered in a letter of instructions to our bureau chiefs from which I quote as follows:

> My interpretation of the present law is that men can be removed from the public service for the same reasons that they can be properly removed from the service of a private company. There is nothing in a city job that is essentially different from a private one, except that the law, in order to protect employees, has provided that certain formalities shall be followed. . . .
>
> The causes that should bring about a resignation or a discharge are just about the same in private undertakings as they are in public, and the sooner our own employees realize that the same yardstick is going to be used on them the better it will be for the city.

In order to help you in this matter I quote as follows from an opinion from Justice Mestrezat which develops this idea:

> "But after all, the efficiency of the service depends upon the integrity, faithfulness, and capacity of the individuals who perform the service and these are personal qualities which cannot be given any one by legislation, nor can any Act of Assembly make a man efficient if nature or personal habits have otherwise decreed. Hence, it appears to me, that the head of the department having the power of dismissal should be permitted, in assigning a just cause for removal under the twentieth section of the Act of 1906 under which this proceeding was instituted, to take into consideration the *moral* character, the personal qualifications, the fitness, and all other qualities of the employee, which affect the efficient and proper and decent discharge of his duties."

Under the terms of the Civil Service Act, the law provides that all cases of discharge shall be made under the nominal direction of the Director of the Department. For this reason it had not been customary to have the name of any one except the Director appear in the case of discharge, suspension, or other forms of discipline. We found that this was as unsatisfactory to the employee as it was obnoxious to the Director. The employee recognized that in 99 cases out of a 100 the Director of the Department personally knows absolutely nothing about the matter. This gives rise to a suspicion on the part of the man or his family, or both, that an injustice is being done. For this reason we saw to it that our employees were sent—in addition to the formal notice signed by the head of the department and required by law—a further notice in which the cause of the action was stated by his immediate "superior," approved by the man in charge of the division of the work, as well as by the Chief of the Bureau. "Superior" is a word which like "gang" and "boss" should find no place in the lexicon of industrial democracy.

I quote as follows from the general circular sent out at the time this was put into effect:

> When a man is laid off, disciplined, or discharged, he is entitled to the fullest statement that can possibly be made, as to the causes thereof and this statement can only be made intelligently by the one immediately directing his work, and it is only fair that the man recommending this action advise the person affected that he always has the right of appeal, first, to the Chief of the Bureau and then to the Director.

Bulletin boards were put up in all places where any considerable number of employees were engaged, and wherever discipline was meted out to an employee the instructions provided that a notice should be posted submitting the details and the penalty inflicted without giving any name. This method was

copied from the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and has the double effect of acting as a guide to those men who might be tempted to commit the same offense in the future and as a further check on those in authority against arbitrary action.

There are, generally speaking, five principal reasons for discharging an employee. A man may be: first, essentially unnecessary; second, not qualified to perform the duties of the position; third, rendered superfluous because of change in the method of doing the work; fourth, disloyal; fifth, crooked.

Instances of useless employees were to be found in such cases as the twenty-three bridge "watchmen" absolutely without duties to perform. We could find no record of a single official act performed by any of them. A large number or per-diem men employed in the Water Bureau attached to our pumping stations were not able to give any definite answer when asked what they were supposed to do.

The most notable examples of employees not qualified to do the work for which they were paid were the assistant commissioners of the Bureau of Highways drawing $2,500 a year, but having almost no knowledge of highway engineering. They were in most instances given these berths because they were ward leaders rather than on account of any knowledge they had as to the work entrusted to them.

Among the number classed as "crooked" are those whose private lives entitle them to this classification and those whose methods of work put them in the criminal class. No one can estimate the demoralizing effect on the great bulk of our self-respecting city employees when they realize—as they are often forced to do—that men whose private lives are simply unspeakable are being retained in positions of trust. I discharged one man because he used his official position for intimidating week in and week out the poor class of foreigners among whom he made his home. One holding a

high position in the Water Bureau was discharged because he could not see the impropriety of housing beer and whiskey in his sitting room on election day for the benefit of the political organization. A fourth spent the better part of his time, for which he was paid by the city, in selling policy slips; a fifth actually operated an immoral resort of a peculiarly unspeakable character; and three foreman in charge of the work of cleaning sand used in the filter beds were discharged for defiling those places in such a way as to imperil the lives of our citizens. These are merely a few examples. The list could be lengthened almost indefinitely. In weeding out the chaff one often runs upon a humorous situation. On one occasion I received a suggestion from a well-known citizen of international reputation that a certain highway inspector made a regular practice of selling policy slips and that he had already served a term in jail. I sent for him and asked him peremptorily to resign. He asked me whether I was sure I had the right man, as there was another man by his name from the ward in which he lived. Upon being assured that there was no mistake he promptly signed his resignation and rushed out of the room. In a few hours I heard that he had beaten up a well-known Philadelphia politician in a near-by saloon on the supposition that he had been instrumental in his discharge. Soon thereafter I understand he began his second term in prison.

On another occasion I asked a man to resign and he demurred, asking my reason. I told him that when a man resigned it was not necessary to tell him why and that if he refused to resign I would discharge him and disclose the cause, as compelled by law. He seemed, however, so insistent on an explanation that I told him he was "inefficient." Replying, "Oh! Is that so?" he took up the pen and signed the resignation blank. Then looking at me with a curious, quizzical look, he said, "See here, Director, there is something wrong about

this. I never had anything to do; so how do you know I am inefficient?"

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PUBLIC

Obviously no amount of planning within the city government can result in a radical and permanent improvement in the morale and efficiency of the municipal service in the absence of an intelligent supporting public opinion or without certain definite types of coöperation on the part of the public. To perpetuate such sayings as "Politics are rotten"; "They are all grafters"; "What can you expect when the city does it?"—and others equally depressing and untrue—of course does not help an iota. The public must organize to bring the same honour to the efficient municipal servant as is rendered to men and women in other walks of life who serve the community creditably.

But perhaps the greatest help will come from the educational institutions which more and more will provide intelligent and ample preparation for the public service, both for those already in it and those who plan to enter it. Too much of this kind of work in the past has consisted of a more or less dry and, to a very large extent, unprofitable study of the form and mechanisms of government. What is required is an enlightened study of the functions of government both present and prospective. This can only be brought about by a more intimate association of the university and the college and the school with city government. It would be a good thing if we could have in this field some part-time teachers and professors—men who would serve the city, say six months in the year and teach the rest of the time. We tried this experiment and it proved a wonderful success. For instance, Dr. Clyde L. King of the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, was several different times entrusted with im-

portant city work and each time he rendered an exceedingly valuable service. His experience as a city employee inevitably broadened his usefulness as a teacher.

There are about ninety institutions in this country giving instruction in municipal government. Of these, by far the great majority give only the most general courses on the structure and organization of government, very little attention being given to its functions. The cause for this condition is simple. A study of organization can be made in the University Library; the functions must be learned, to some extent at least, in the city's workshop. All but a few of these ninety institutions are privately endowed universities. The strictly municipal colleges and universities, where theory and practice seem to come nearest to working hand in hand, form as yet an almost insignificant group as far as size and equipment are concerned.

The Bureau of Municipal Research and Reference of Austin, Texas, forms the connecting link between the University of Texas and the cities of the state. Robert M. Jameson, Secretary of the Bureau, writes of the work at the University:

> It took some time to get the cities of Texas interested in our purposes. At last, however, we believe that the officials of the cities of Texas are coöperating with us very creditably, and that our work is meeting with some response and appreciation. In fact, we have expressions to this effect in our correspondence.

No wonder the cities of Texas are becoming interested in the work of the Bureau for, since its organization in 1913, it has prepared studies on:

1. A Model Charter for Texas Cities.
2. Methods for Sewage Disposal for Texas Cities.
3. A Model Civil Service Code for Texas Cities.
4. What is the City-Manager Plan?
5. A Student's Survey of Austin, Texas.

The University of Cincinnati is another municipal university which is doing much to elevate the general plane of municipal service. Most of the city's testing and inspection work is done by the University. Dean Schneider, of the College of Engineering, writes that they have about five hundred students in coöperating work in various municipal departments and private corporations. The Dean gives the following list of the public and quasi-public agencies with which they have working coöperative agreements:

The City of Cincinnati.
The Big Four Railroad.
The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.
The Bell Telephone Company.
The Cincinnati, Dayton, and Hamilton Railroad.
The Cincinnati Traction Company.
The Dayton (Ohio) Power and Light Company.
The Pennsylvania Railroad.
The Union Gas and Electric Company.
The Union Light, Heat, and Power Company.
The United States Government.

President Kolbe of the Municipal University of Akron, Ohio, has worked out a very promising system of coöperation between the University and the City for whose benefit it was established. Their graduate students, especially, are placed in the City's engineering, charity, health, and research departments. The Bureau of City Tests is located in the Laboratory of the University. One of the Bulletins of the U. S. Bureau of Education, *The University and the Municipality*, gives in a condensed and interesting form a digest of what is being accomplished in this field in different parts of the country. The Association of Urban Universities is doing much, through the coöperation of its members, to hasten the day of trained public servants. Of similar purpose is the Society for the Promotion of Training for the Public Service, with

GOOD FOR A GOOD DAY'S WORK

These five employees of the Water Bureau, City of Philadelphia, each over 70 years of age, still put in 8 hours a day

WATER BUREAU COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT

Furnishes hot coffee and "eats" to the men detailed on street work at night and during the winter months

Mayor Thompson of Chicago awarding a civic diploma

Mayor Mitchel of New York bestowing the efficiency button on a street cleaner

Mayor Blankenburg of Philadelphia giving trophies to street cleaning contractors

PRIZES AS TESTIMONIALS OF A CITY'S APPRECIATION

headquarters at Madison, Wis., whose aim is expressed in Article 2 of its Constitution to be "the promotion of effective, coördinated, theoretical, and practical training for public service and the continued training of men in the public service."

A school which has concentrated its attention on this work with great effectiveness, especially from the standpoint of developing administrative public officials, is the Training School for Public Service, located in New York City. This school, originally provided for by Mrs. E. H. Harriman, is demanding more and more exacting qualifications of its entering pupils. Almost without exception the students are college graduates, and often they are men who have already earned their Ph.D. degree. The student body also includes ex-public officials of various ranks, not excepting that of mayor. Naturally their results have been encouraging. They work in closest harmony with the governmental departments in New York City. Although they had passed only two mile-stones, Assistant Supervisor Smith wrote me, in November, 1915:

> Since January first we have practically ceased all effort to obtain new applicants and have rather discouraged them because we shall probably restrict our membership in the future to a rather limited number. That the Training School will continue as a permanent institution, we have little doubt.

I believe that with the progress of the scheme of municipal aid for local institutions it will become increasingly difficult for private donors, giving to private universities, to compete with public subsidies for local institutions. The municipal college or university drawing its financial support very largely —or exclusively—from the municipality will almost inevitably result. I have no hesitation in saying that many accomplishments of our department would have been impossible had it not been for the help I received from the experts on the faculty

of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. I am led to believe, on the other hand, that those genuinely concerned for the increased usefulness of the University did not regret the closer relationship between the Department of Public Works and the Wharton School.

In cases where the city is unable or unwilling to support a purely municipal college, some arrangements should be made for coöperation in this respect with the best-equipped private institution. For example, the City of Philadelphia could very profitably, under reasonable conditions, make arrangements with the University of Pennsylvania for the establishment of a department giving courses designed to lead directly to the municipal service. The title of that department should be so selected that there could be no mistake as to its purpose. The courses taken in under-graduate years should be selected by a joint committee representing the faculty and the city administration. Arrangements should be made to have these students spend part of their time, during Junior and Senior year, in actual field work in the various bureaus of the city government. Graduate courses, open to those students completing successfully the under-graduate work in the department, should cover various phases of municipal engineering and municipal administration. A well-thought-out system of scholarships for those showing special capacity and interest might prove of great value.

It is well to remind ourselves constantly that education is not designed exclusively for those at the top. We must bear in mind the men of the lower grades already in the service. In recognition of this our Bureau of Water held regular classes at some of our pumping stations for the benefit of the fireroom employees. The following is a synopsis of one of these weekly talks as summarized for the bulletin board:

Talk No. 4: Last week the chimneys smoked more than necessary. The bar was put in the fire too much and green coal was pushed

down too soon toward the dump grate. Now in Talk No. 2, we took up the different kinds of gases given off when coal is heated. If the carbon which is in these gases meets and unites with only a small amount of oxygen in the air, a mixture of gases is formed which burns to CO. If the carbon meets and unites with a larger amount of air, the mixture which is formed burns to CO_2. When CO is formed, the heat which is developed by the burning is only about 4400 B.T.U. per pound of carbon. When CO_2 is formed in the burning, about 14,600 B.T.U. is formed or more than three times as much heat. If CO goes away and up the chimney, just that amount of possible heat is lost. CO is the gas that is made by the U.G.I. to sell at $1.00 per thousand cubic feet. Think of the waste if we let gas which is worth $1.00 per thousand cubic feet go up the chimney. This may seem absurd but it is a fact just the same. When you put the bar in the fire and push a large amount of green coal down to the dump grate, you let the light gas distill off so quickly and in such large amounts that it has no time to take up the proper amount of oxygen. The result is that a great deal of unburned carbon in the CO gas goes up the stack in great clouds of smoke.

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The object of these gatherings was to bring to the attention of the firemen lessons whose bases were the actual happenings of the week. The aim was to increase the interest of the men in their work and to profit by the resulting economies. This Bureau effected savings in coal, in one year, of over $232,000. That is, the Bureau spent $232,000 less for coal during the year 1914 than it did during the year 1913.

The interest our department had in the matter of improving the educational opportunities of the employees, and incidentally of increasing their efficiency in the service of the city, is best presented by the excerpts from an open letter which I addressed to every member of the department.

PERSONAL LETTER TO EMPLOYEES

For some time past we have had it in mind to develop a plan by which the employees of this Department could, by special effort

on their part, educate themselves for advancement in the service of the City. This has now happily been made possible by the arrangements described in a letter from his Honour the Mayor, as follows:

MR. MORRIS L. COOKE,
Director, Department of Public Works.
MY DEAR SIR:

In any private undertaking the matter of the educational advancement of the individual employee is one of prime importance and for some time I have been considering the several means at our disposal for making it possible, for the men and women now engaged in the City service to so improve themselves as to make them available for promotion to the higher grades.

. . . . . .

The aim of this Advisory Committee (a committee of leading educators to advise municipal employees) is to give helpful counsel, concerning the means and methods of educational improvement, to any one employed in the Municipal Departments.

The individual members of the Committee (not the Committee as a whole) will at the stated time gladly confer with any one as to what studies ought to be undertaken, how they ought to be pursued, and what facilities for the purpose are at hand in Philadelphia.

. . . . . .

"I am sending a copy of this communication to the Civil Service Commission with the request that they consider what steps may be taken to give credit in their examinations to those who may undertake work of this kind.

Yours very truly,
(signed) RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG,
Mayor.

It is becoming a quite general practice for private employers to offer their employees the means of improving themselves, and as the City under the present administration wants to be the best kind of employer, we must do the same. . . . In case any employee of the Department would prefer to see me personally about this matter before seeking the advice of this Committee, I will be glad to have him do so.

The Chiefs of the several Bureaus have been asked to advise with any of their employees who request the opportunity and

especially to give permission whenever possible for an employee to meet with the Committee at the time and place mentioned in this circular.

Yours very sincerely,
MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE,
Director, Department of Public Works.

Carrying out the spirit of this same policy arrangements were made for giving a course in highway engineering at the local Y. M. C. A. The instructor was one of the assistant engineers in the Bureau of Highways. A course of lectures on Scientific Management was also given under the same auspices. For the benefit of our highway inspectors and others engaged in this class of work, a course of fourteen lectures was arranged by W. H. Easby, Professor of Municipal Engineering at the University of Pennsylvania. These lectures had an average attendance of 125. On three occasions lectures on subjects of special interest to our employees were given in the Mayor's office. The first of these was on road building and was attended by over 500 people, a larger number than had ever before been gathered in the Mayor's office. Another lecture on street-cleaning methods in Washington, D. C., was given and largely attended.

Columbia University has for several years been giving two short courses of lectures during the winter months especially designed for those employees of townships and municipalities engaged in highway work. We arranged that some of the more promising of our highway inspectors should attend them.

At the suggestion of the Department, The Free Library of the City of Philadelphia established in City Hall a municipal reference library which was of the greatest assistance to the bureau chiefs. It was used even more by employees in reading up on matters pertaining to their work.

Whether it be in industry or in trade or in the field of Government, that which makes for the largest prosperity of

the worker is coming to be recognized as the element of maximum importance. Anything that makes for a heightened morale must be cultivated, for it is only through the services of healthy, happy, and enthusiastic workers that really great tasks can be accomplished. It is equally true that the well-being of the individual workers cannot be left to accident. We must organize this part of the work. Unfortunately, it is by no means an easy task to organize to produce felicitous human relations. But it can be done! And it must be done if Democracy is to survive!

CHAPTER VI

FINDING THE MAN IN TEN THOUSAND

IT HAS frequently been suggested during the past decade, and especially during the past four years of the war, that democracy is undergoing the test which shall determine whether it is to sweep over the world, or stagnate and finally perish. That test is based essentially on efficiency. Democracy, if it shall flourish, must be efficient, it must be able constantly to increase its efficiency. Of course such increase in efficiency must necessarily be obtained chiefly through a new personnel in the public service, selected and advanced according to merit.

The mercenary element in a community can be enlisted for political work only as long as there is a fairly certain financial reward. To the extent to which the chances for this reward are reduced, the mercenary element will cease to be a potent factor in politics. Take from Tammany Hall the power to distribute political sinecures, and the Hall will soon be for rent. To accomplish this we must reduce to a minimum the number of public offices subject to unrestricted distribution. The rapidity with which we approach this ideal goal will be determined by the development of our civil-service regulations. Civil service has been made a plank in many party platforms, both state and national. In 1914, nine states adopted this principle in one or more of the party platforms. The principle is spreading rapidly; it is up to us who thoroughly believe in it to make it grow more practical as it grows more powerful.

Carl Schurz, in speaking of civil service, said: "The object

is not merely to discover, by means of examinations among a number of candidates for public employment, the most competent, but to relieve the public service as well as our whole political life as much as possible from the demoralizing influence of political favouritism and mercenary motive, and thus to lift them to a higher plane not only intellectually, but morally." This attitude was necessary when the civil-service movement was launched. But the failure to escape from this rather narrowing conception after the establishment of the system, impedes the progress of a genuine merit system. Civil service was instituted to circumvent the political crook; it must be developed for the purpose of obtaining the most efficient and capable employee the public service can attract. Unless we lose sight of this old idea and work on the new, we shall not get very far. The new and constructive purpose takes care of the ills expressed in the old and more or less negative idea. We must come to consider the further purpose of civil service to be the hunt for the 100 per cent. man for any given job. This ideal man will never be found, but this goal should of course be the inspiration of the civil-service commission.

The public believes that there are 100 per cent. men available for almost any vacancy, and our civil-service commissions to a very large extent share this view. For generations past the people have witnessed the spectacle of weak, vacillating, inexperienced men thrust—sometimes actually against their wills—into positions of great responsibility. More frequently than not even kings themselves have arrived by some such route. Hence it is not strange that when we, the people, come to fill these positions out of our own ranks, we consider almost anybody available for the ordinary run of positions. And for even the higher positions we usually act as if there were quite a number from among whom the choice might profitably be made. But if our democracy is to set any new and worthy standard in government

we must very largely abandon this idea. If one lists, for instance, the qualities, abilities, experience, and character requisite for an ideal mayor of a city like New York—or even of Denver—it will be seen that no such man has thus far been produced. In other words, most positions are filled, even when well filled, by men of five eighths, three quarters, and seven eighths dimensions. Probably if we recognized more clearly the real possibilities of even the lower positions we would use somewhat smaller fractions.

The public entertains the opinion—and the civil-service arm of the Government largely shares it—that, for every position which is open, there are, not one, but a number of men almost equally qualified.

Yet any one who has had experience in employing men and women under conditions approximating scientific management will agree that almost invariably there is one man or one woman who, when the facts about each possibility are fully determined, stands head and shoulders above all the others considered for any one position. The higher the position the more likely is this to be true. Another civil-service conception which is exactly the opposite of my own experience is to the effect that the one best man—the man in ten thousand—is so anxious to get the position that he will not only on his own initiative take the civil service examination but otherwise inconvenience himself in order to demonstrate his fitness for it. I have always found that it required considerable research work to discover the one best man and that, having discovered him, it was necessary to do more than offer an attractive salary to secure his services. The truth is that more and more high-class men are studying their employers and are only attracted to those places where there is afforded the opportunity to work under right conditions and where there seems to be the chance to do constructive work. In other words, a city will more and more need the reputation

of being a good employer, and more and more require the intervention of the administrative officer with vision, to attract men of like character. Less and less will even so-called non-assembled civil-service examinations be responsible for filling in any satisfactory manner the higher municipal positions.

The assumption about the similarity of public and private business stood us in good stead at every turn in our public work. Thus we assumed that our civil-service laws were only a codification of the best practices of private business, and that considerations which would make E. A. Filene, of Boston, the Dennison Manufacturing Co., or any other good employer, either employ, discharge, or discipline, should hold good with us. Acting on this theory we never failed to get the man we wanted piloted through the civil service procedure. On the other hand, the courts never reinstated a single man, although we found it necessary to discharge hundreds.

One of the chief weaknesses of the prevailing civil-service system of appointment to public office has been its general failure to place responsibility for the appointment. If an appointing official in a responsible position is given the credit or discredit for the performance of his appointees, the chances are becoming greater every day that he will hire competent helpers. When one or two commissions, boards, or legislative houses are parties to the making of an appointment, no one can be actually responsible. New York State has sixteen methods of appointing heads of state departments. Some are appointed by the Court of Appeals, others by the Supreme Court; by the Governor, either alone or with consent of certain bodies; and in various other ways. It would be a task even beyond one "learned in the law" to place responsibility in most cases. This is a feature that is rarely to be found in private concerns. Some one person should be held responsible for everything that happens. Of course this involves a reasonably quick remedy for any abuse of this power.

Much sound advice on this subject is contained in the following official communication from Frederick W. Ballard, the efficient designer and operator of Cleveland's very remarkable 3-cent Municipal Electric Plant to C. W. Stage, Director of Public Utilities.

I am handing you herewith a new list to be passed by the Board of Control as a salary resolution for the Municipal Light & Heat Division. . . .

You will note that there are some new positions listed, and also some increases in salaries. There are, however, no increases in the larger salaries, and there are comparatively few in any of the others, as it is my intention to hold all our expenses, including salaries, down to the lowest possible minimum until such time as we have our plant in operation up to its capacity, and we have established the whole proposition on a firm footing.

However, there are a number of positions in my department, the duties of which have grown so that the salaries paid were out of all proportion to the service rendered, and it has been only in these cases that I have made any adjustment whatever.

In regard to the new positions created would say that the same condition holds as stated in regard to the increases in salaries. There are really no new people placed at work. These parties have been employed and paid on the day lists, but have gradually assumed duties and responsibilities such that it was necessary and proper to give their position a proper title, and establish them on the monthly pay-roll. In fact, this is the only way I know of for building up an organization. This system is made necessary by the fact that it is impossible to go out and find men who would fill an ideal position. It is always necessary to make the position fit the man, rather than to attempt to make the man fit the position. This is one of the fundamental principles for securing high efficiency, and in fact, in trying to develop an organization such as we have been developing through the last two years, it is necessary to find the best man possible, and then let him find his job, as the saying is, and gradually develop and make his own position and assume such responsibilities as he is best suited for.

It can readily be seen that such a system must be accompanied by very flexible conditions, as the responsibilities and duties of

positions in the department are always changing; one man may be growing and acquiring more important duties and larger responsibilities, while, on the other hand, another man, who is not doing his work as he should, and accomplishing the greatest possible results, will be shifted to other duties which may be more suitable for him, and the importance of his position and of his responsibilities may be contracting rather than expanding.

This is one of the underlying principles which is recognized by the large private corporations of the country, who have the most efficient and best-developed organizations. To my mind, one of the most important differences between public work is the different manner in which this problem is treated.

I realize that the difference is considered fundamental and that any attempt to make a change would be revolutionary. I have no reason to complain because of restrictions on my own department. I have been accorded privileges in building up my organization by the administration and by the Civil Service Commission which at once attests sympathy with our undertaking and a confidence in our sincerity and ability which is most gratifying.

I very much desire, however, to have an opportunity at some future time to explain at greater length some ideas I have of placing this whole question on a different basis, and while I realize that it is probably impractical to place public work on the same footing as private work, yet I do believe that everything we can do to minimize the difference will be just that much gained in the way of increased efficiency.

PUBLICITY

In civil service, as in most other public functions, publicity is one of the first essentials. Publicity as to the methods and workings of the commission, as well as publicity as to the examinations to be held. As the former President of the Philadelphia Commission, Frank M. Riter, has expressed it: "Absolute publicity and an open door to the public." Mr. Riter consistently practised what he preached.

The ordinary publicity provisions, when they are attempted in a civil-service law, are lamentably weak. It would be better simply to provide for full publicity without saying how

it was to be accomplished. The Pittsburg Civil Service Rules require:

> The Civil Service Commission shall maintain in an easily accessible place a bulletin board on which shall be posted notices of all examinations and public hearings, and copies of all eligible lists, except the lists of ordinary unskilled labourers.

If this commission only carried out the letter of the law, publicity would be a very weak agent, whereas, when properly nourished, there is none more powerful. Very frequently civil-service laws go into detail on this point, specifying the number of papers, etc., in which various notices are to appear.

There is also the publicity in connection with examinations. Most commissions allow the candidates to examine their papers after they have been corrected. The Philadelphia commission goes even further in this particular, allowing any one to examine any paper that has been presented in competition. Such open methods do much to promote public confidence, and certainly cannot do any harm. The New York City Commission, under the leadership of President Moskowitz, has made effective use of publicity on the practical side of many of their civil-service examinations. Electric cranemen desiring to enter the public service are almost convinced that "things are on the square" when they see a group of examiners actually trying out candidates on one of the city's cranes.

President Moskowitz has developed publicity in many other ways in connection with the work of this commission. Long reels of movies, owned by the Commission, and available for public entertainments, tell all the "secrets" as to how the various examinations are conducted, especially as to their practical side. A number of these reels were shown at the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

There is still another form which the publicity work may

take, and that is in connection with the methods of the Commission itself. Their attitude toward various phases of the work and toward suggested reforms should be constantly available to those interested in the work. Only by such means are the friends of genuine civil-service reform encouraged to make suggestions for the benefit of the service. A live commission should be most considerate of individual as well as public opinion, for it reaches the very nerve centres of our public service. Respectful attention to both poor and good suggestions will advance the public appreciation of the merit system.

SOME WEAKNESSES

In civil service, as in everything else that is worth doing, we must continually guard against self-satisfaction. Everything connected with the subject is in a state of flux. It is for the greatest good of all that those entrusted with carrying out our civil-service laws recognize that fact. Self-satisfaction is the forerunner of internal rot. One of the most prominent men in this field, in speaking of the "misunderstandings, ridicule, and falsifications" of the civil service, made the remark that this "ghost should be buried absolutely and not rise again." He was, in reality, asking the public to stop criticising civil service. Nothing more harmful to the future growth of the principle could be imagined. We must be continually subjecting each branch of the service to the severest tests. Criticism is the very life-blood of progress. And with helpful, constructive, and honest criticism there will always be a modicum of that which is fault-finding in spirit—not to say vicious in intention. We can usually assume that our work has little vitality if it is not criticised.

A case in point—one in which the basic principles are not yet satisfactorily adjusted—is the relative credit to be given

theory and practice in many of the examinations. It is an indisputable fact that it is often possible for the applicant for clerical, stenographic, engineering, and other work, who is just out of school or college, to pass higher on the list than the man of equal ability who has had just as good training, and who besides this has been in practical work for several years. Experience is at a discount because the test is dependent on theoretical and sometimes stock questions. Experience is expected to count heavily for the candidate in his answers, but unfortunately this theoretical assumption does not always work out. We are undoubtedly on the right track, but we have not arrived. The basic idea in the minds of the commissioners or their examiners is sometimes too much like that in the old story of where "pigs is pigs." It must not be assumed, because pigs are pigs, that, therefore, clerks are clerks and engineers are engineers. There will probably be an increasing tendency to give more weight to experience and especially to personality in all lines.

One need not be considered unduly critical of the written examination in urging the oral—especially for the upper grades. Roger Babson tells us that it is entirely possible to reduce the ratings of these oral examinations to an exact science. It is certain that the employment bureaus of a number of large industrial concerns have made great progress in this direction. The results being achieved by a half-dozen concerns of my acquaintance who use oral tests even for positions in the lowest grades, do not appear to be open to serious criticism. The oral examination offers indefinite opportunity for the development of many phases of the applicant's qualifications which are clearly out of the range of written examinations.

There are two characteristics which seem to me to be absolutely essential qualifications for a municipal executive—and in fact for executives in any field: (1) a highly developed sense of business honour and (2) that type of resourcefulness

which knows how to get results by following untrodden paths if necessary and in the face of unexpected difficulties. In one examination for a position where the former of these points was especially important, at my request, several "ethical" questions were asked in such a way that it was not at all evident to the applicants that this phase was under inquiry. It was surprising to see how many men fell under this test. Again, by depicting an untoward set of circumstances and asking the applicant what he would do to accomplish his object in spite of these handicaps, one gets an idea as to his resourcefulness.

There is an ever-growing opportunity for the development of a more or less exact measurement of the personal equation through examination. On the one hand, there is the fellow who depends on almost pure bluff to carry him through everything, while at the other extreme is the unfortunate individual who has the knowledge but a minimum of ability to apply it. It is the duty of civil service to find the man in the middle ground. I know of two candidates for an executive position in the public service who were separated by only four tenths of a point in a civil-service test for the position. There was all the difference in the world in their ability to fill the position. One man was an executive, the other was a student. There is a certain Ph.D. in Philadelphia who actually passed seventy-two different examinations for various branches of the public service. He merely possesses a highly developed knack for writing out answers to a wide range of questions. Of course it would be easy to multiply evidence of this kind. It probably always will be as long as civil service is a live growing arm of the government. All we can ask is that those who are responsible for civil service shall be on the watch-tower to detect those points of failure and to erect the necessary safeguards against a recurrence.

Our own experience has been that civil-service officials are

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too well satisfied with what has been accomplished and have too little faith that the best we know to-day in this field is really crude and only preliminary to something which will answer very much better the more exacting demands of the more efficient democracy of to-morrow. Here as everywhere else we must resist the fatalistic doctrine of the weakness inherent in all human institutions. We must, rather, feel that every miscarriage of justice or failure to determine the exact truth in these civil-service tests retards the movement. Out of each such instance disclosing a weakness some policy or corrective measure should emerge to become a permanent part of the civil-service system.

THE $3,000 PLUS JOBS

Positions in the municipal service may be divided roughly into two general classes using the wage as a basis. I have generally thought of the line as being drawn at the $3,000 mark, although it may vary, of course, in different cases, on one or the other side of this figure.

With the positions paying less than $3,000 annually the civil service is generally conceded to be working along reasonably satisfactory lines, and to be obtaining fairly satisfactory results. In the cases of positions paying $3,000 and above the results are not so satisfactory. It is here that there appears to be the greatest chance for development. It goes almost without saying that the methods and considerations that influence men of the lower clerical grades will not apply to the higher-class executive and technical experts of recognized ability in their several lines. The cities are seeking the best that can be had for each particular position, and if they are to have any degree of success in the competition to secure first-class men, they must pattern after the methods of their competitors—the industrial world.

In order to learn whether any civil-service commission treated the higher-paid positions in a different way than those of the lower grades, we wrote to a representative number of commissions asking this question. In particular we asked whether any special method was used for getting men to take examinations for positions paying $3,000 or more. Here are some of the answers:—

"We have treated those positions in the same way that we have treated all others."

(St. Louis, Mo.)

"We have no particular procedure for filling positions above $3,000."

(Detroit, Mich.)

"There is no fixed method for 'lining up' men to take examinations for these higher positions."

(Acting Secretary of the Navy.)

"We have not developed any particular method in filling positions paying $3,000, and above."

(Chicago, Ill.)

And so it goes through the whole list. The Secretary of the National Assembly of Civil Service Commissions informs us that the same newspaper and magazine methods of solicitation are used for all grades of positions.

We have always contended that for these higher-paid jobs personal solicitation is necessary. Nothing short of this will give satisfaction i. e., will get the best men to apply. We must continually apply ourselves to the development of methods for literally hunting for possible candidates. For it is in the higher grades that the civil service is having its real test. The job must hunt the man—the very opposite of the situation that may quite possibly obtain in the lower class positions. Mr. George A. Levy, Efficiency Chief of the Pitts-

burgh Commission, maintains "that a capable director of a department should know the kind of a man he desires for a high-grade position, and a newspaper advertisement is of little value in getting that man; it is a case of the position seeking the man."

Although present methods make no concessions in seeking out the high-priced man, they do sometimes recognize that there is a difference when it comes to examining him. In general, there are three such variations from routine procedure, viz.: the unassembled examination, the qualifying examination, and the test that is based entirely on experience. All of these special methods are adopted in irregular fashion as if still feeling the way. Their application is usually optional with the examiners. The Chicago regulations state that: "Examinations may be conducted without assembling candidates, may be oral or written, and may be supplemented by practical tests." A wide margin for discretion is desirable for the managers of any new undertaking, and the general permissive character of most of these regulations only serves to demonstrate the nebulous state in which our civil service finds itself at the present time. These unassembled examinations are used principally in examinations for the higher positions. The examination for Chief Chemist for the Bureau of Standards of the Federal Government was conducted in this individual fashion. Generally such tests are so arranged as to bring out the candidate's knowledge of research methods, and the absence of military methods gives him a chance to demonstrate his initiative and constructive powers. The unassembled examination is undoubtedly a step in the right direction.

The qualifying examination is borrowed from European civil-service procedure. As Professor Munro points out in his "Government of European Cities" (page 178), the national laws of Germany frequently provide that appointees

to certain positions shall have stated professional qualifications, but all examinations are qualifying and not competitive. The examinations are for the purpose of determining the list of eligibles. From this list the Magistrat makes his unrestricted selection. There is no limiting the appointing official to the three or four highest as is the usual provision in the American system. This method has drawn the best material into the public service in Germany where the employing official is quite as much limited by appropriations as is the American. The qualifying examination is not so general in the United States as is the unassembled. Wisconsin, the leader in so many things governmental, has made a number of such tests. Last year she secured an actuary for the State Insurance Department by this method. The position paid from $2,500 to $5,000, "depending upon the ability, training, and experience of the person appointed." The result in this, and in a number of other instances, was most encouraging. The freedom of choice permits the appointing officer to select the candidate having the greatest abundance of those qualities which we can usually more easily recognize than describe; qualities which cannot be brought out by the question-and-answer method.

Since men already established in their professions are so out of sympathy with the red-tape of most of our governmental processes, the plan of appointment based on experience and accomplishments has a particularly hopeful outlook. Wisconsin, again, is in the lead in this field. By such methods she determined who should be business manager for her university, at a salary of $5,000. The following were essential qualifications demanded by the successful candidate:

1. Integrity of character.
2. Tact and skill in handling men, and at the same time firmness. Ability to deal with business men and also with the educational staff of the university (about 500), many of whom have not business training.

3. Sound health and the prime of life.
4. Large business ability and large previous business experience.
5. A knowledge of materials and of methods of construction. A knowledge whether or not contracts are properly drawn, and whether plans and specifications are being carried out.
6. An understanding of methods of accounting and practice of purchasing.
7. Culture, preferably graduation from college, and an understanding and appreciation of the great educational problems that arise in a modern up-to-date university.
8. Decision, executive ability and push, so that policies decided upon by the regents and faculty will be promptly carried out.

Hon. Charles M. Galloway, United States Civil Service Commissioner, is our authority for the statement that his commission considers life history and accomplishments, given under oath, as a real competitive examination in many cases.

Most high-calibre men who have accomplished things by honest methods are anxious to have their careers looked into—and published if possible. Publicity increases both their producing and their earning power. But such men are not usually on the hunt for positions—especially municipal positions. Neither will they give much consideration to formal or group appeals. The appeal must be absolutely personal if we would get the best. To my mind, this personal appeal is best engineered when the appointing power acts in conjunction with the civil-service commission—the approving body. For instance, it would have been practically impossible for any body of men to get William H. Connell to go to Philadelphia as chief of our Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning at a salary of $6,000 a year, or at any other salary. A man of this type demands more than financial considerations. He demands a promise of support and coöperation, and an untrammelled opportunity for carrying on high-grade technical work as well as for professional advancement. A group, from its very nature, is incapable of giving such assurances. The

same thing is true with such a man as Carleton E. Davis, chief of our Bureau of Water, at $10,000 a year. It is a difficult thing to find such a man and to approach him successfully with the proposition of municipal employment. Boards and committees and newspaper advertisements certainly cannot usually accomplish it.

Many municipal engineers in this country are beginning to adopt the European system of employing non-residents for certain highly specialized positions. Whenever this is practised it excites criticism and abuse. As yet no technical organization, so far as I know, has recognized the opening thus made for technical merit, and given moral support to the movement. I tried to get support from organized engineers in the obviously necessary procedure of employing experts outside our regular staff, but without results. There are certain positions in the city's service, as real estate assessors, for example, where the local man is preëminently best qualified to serve. Outside of this small list of positions we should take the best men we can get for our money, no matter whence they come. Public service is most efficient when it is a national service and not such a narrow and provincial affair as most of our city bosses would have it. Dr. Clyde L. King's explanation[1] of the "foreign" municipal employee in German cities will serve to point the goal toward which we are tending in filling the higher-salaried municipal positions:

> The oft-repeated assertion that there are no politics in German city positions is far from accurate, for in many cities an avowed member of the social-democratic party could never be ratified for a leading city position no matter what his worth while a conservative of the landed gentry point of view could be ratified no matter how incomplete his preparation. But in Germany the provincialism characteristic of so many American cities, which brands experts

[1] *Training for City Employees in the Municipal College of Germany*, an address given at the 1914 annual meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

from other cities or states as "outsiders" or "aliens," finds no place. The result is that a public employee with adequate qualifications, who finds himself blocked in one city because of his party affiliations, can look towards employment in other cities. Moreover, promotion is made from city to city so that there is no limit to the economic returns and social prestige of the public official of competence and skill.

During the four years 1912-1915 the Civil Service Commission in Philadelphia was directed by three gentlemen of exceptional ability and rectitude of purpose, operating under what is considered an ideal civil-service law and surrounded by appointing administrative officials desirous of coöperating in every way to make civil service a success. Notwithstanding all these favourable conditions, the fact remains that, during this entire period, not a position paying $3,000 and above was actually filled by what are generally recognized by the public as civil-service methods. Every single person appointed to this class of positions in all the departments under the Mayor was sought out and selected by the appointing officer before—and in some cases long before—the civil-service machinery had begun to operate. The fact that these men, to the number of nearly a score, were examined later by the Civil Service Commission and their names certified to the appointing officer is simply an incident which proves nothing as to the possibility of securing men of this class by the present civil-service methods. Notwithstanding this the late Chief Examiner of the Philadelphia Civil Service Commission—an exceptionally able and conscientious man by the way—in a speech given before the Civil Service Reform Association in Baltimore, Maryland, listed fourteen positions which had been filled under his administration where the salary was $3,000 or above and without a word of explanation. This simply proves that he did not make a distinction between seeking out the right man and securing his consent to serve on the one

hand and simply testing out his fitness in a more or less routine fashion on the other. Former Commissioner Lewis R. Van Dusen, at the meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, held in Philadelphia in December, 1915, made the statement that his commission had given sixty examinations in the last four years, for positions paying from $2,400 to $6,000 (most of them over $3,000) as an evidence that civil-service methods were "working" on this class of positions. In my opinion, the men responsible for pushing the civil-service propaganda in this country are doing the cause a very grave injury when they keep on attempting to make themselves and the public believe that the present mechanisms of the civil service are accomplishing more than they really are.

Of the twenty-one positions, paying $3,000 or more, filled by the Philadelphia Civil Service Commission for the Department of Public Safety and Public Works, fifteen were originally filled by provisional appointment, secured on the initiative of the appointing officer. Not one of these provisional appointees failed to pass the subsequent competitive examination and appear on the eligible list for permanent appointment. Most of them stood first on the eligible list. This is rather good evidence that there is a method other than that of written examination and entirely outside the current civil-service tests whereby the highest class of offices can be satisfactorily filled.

There are in every good-sized community many men with the qualifications needed in a chief clerk at $2,500. Any good office executive starts in with many of the requisites. And it is also true that the hum-drum character of work of this kind in private establishments seems to make the public employment seem attractive. Hence the civil service, through its routine publicity methods, is quite able to discover employees of this type. But going somewhat above this salary, and more especially asking for technical and other qualifi-

cations not so frequently encountered, the civil service is more and more going to depend on the appointing officer, not only to discover the best man, but to land him on the job.

I wish to repeat what I have said over and over again, that, had it not been for the protection given to me by the civil-service system, I could not have held my position as Director of Public Works with any satisfaction. This friendly attitude toward civil service—which is better called the Merit System—gives me the right thus to emphatically protest against what appears to be a fundamental weakness in that system without being accused of carping criticism.

I am confident that honest and *fairly* competent men can be secured by present civil-service procedure even for positions of $3,000 and above. I am equally convinced that the *best men* cannot be secured in this way. No one of the men whom I had the honour of appointing to the higher positions in our department would have responded to a civil-service advertisement. In my opinion men with reputations already established are more and more going to refuse to submit to the accidents usually inherent in a four-hour examination, only too frequently carried on by examiners who know much less about the subject than do those whom they are questioning. Civil service, as applied to the higher positions will, in my opinion, take the form of coöperating with the appointing officer in finding the right man and in fearlessly and exhaustively checking that officer's judgment rather than insisting on taking the initiative, as is the present practice.

Theoretically, at least, civil-service methods do not now provide any part for the appointing officer until after the examination has been held and a certification has been made. As has been said already, the most essential question that raises itself in the minds of high-class men, when considering the acceptance of responsible positions, is the character of the support to be received from the appointing officer. Questions

of salary, of possible success or failure, and other considerations affecting the position all pale into insignificance as compared to the one central idea as to the measure of coöperation to be received. This is a question on which civil service never has had and never will have anything to say. Is it not strange —in view of the fact that in at least a score of cases the incumbents of positions paying $3,000 and over were originally discovered and really secured by the appointing officer and not by the Civil Service Commissioners—that the latter body has not even begun to consider changes in its methods which will frankly recognize this condition and plan out something that will harmonize with the spirit of the merit system rather than to seem to keep on pretending to do something which they are really not doing?

Even if public employment should come to be considered more desirable than it is at the present moment, this difficulty in finding the best man will still be encountered just as it is in industry. Therefore, if we are to have the highest class of men in important engineering and other highly technical positions we must develop some merit system by which the appointing officer is given a greater opportunity than he now has of finding the right man for the job.

I believe, for instance, that if the secretaries of the four national engineering societies could be authorized by their several councils to associate themselves as a civil-service board to act in an advisory capacity to federal, state, and municipal civil-service commissions, it would be a decided step in the right direction in filling engineering positions. Suppose the president of the Borough of Manhattan should want to secure a competent engineer to put in charge of the highway department. Through the New York Civil Service Commission he would state the problem to this suggested advisory board which in turn would appoint a special committee, say of three engineers, to act as his counsellors in finding the man. The

appointing officer would keep these counsellors in touch with the search and, when he was ready to make a choice, secure their approval before entering into a contract. In this way the merit system would act as a check against favouritism but would allow the appointing officer the widest possible opportunity to search for the best man available. It would probably not be found desirable to have all of the counsellors from the engineering profession and one of the engineers should probably be an expert in the particular branch to which the position to be filled belongs. Provision can be made for as full and open a written record as may be needed to provide the necessary safeguards.

This procedure is a radical departure from the present idea of civil service, which is based on the assumption that it is impossible to allow the appointing officer any voice in the selection of his men. Even under the most advanced forms of civil service the appointing officer is confined to a full and usually a written statement of the qualifications he is trying to secure. One never exactly fills a position with just the kind of man in mind when the search began. It is a question of compromise, and the appointing officer is the one who is in the best position to know where concessions can best be made and which among the several requirements are the most indispensable. There would be no objection to any reasonable check on his action.

There are a number of men who are in favour of this intimate coöperation between the Commission and the appointing power. Mr. John A. Hazelwood, Secretary and Chief Examiner for the Wisconsin Civil Service Commission, stands for this improvement. Commissioner Van Dusen of Philadelphia said, at the recent Civil Service Conference in that city, that "a good deal is to be said for direct picking of men, and the commission testing him, provided he has to stand number one on the subsequent examination." It should be made

obligatory by statute, although it is evident that real coöperation can never be legislated into existence. As long as the civil-service effort was principally to prevent favouritism and graft a method might be above criticism, which in this day of the difficult struggle for efficiency, is entirely out of date.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS

The subject of provisional appointments is almost always bound up with the problem of the higher-class positions. For positions of the lower grades an eligible list is generally on hand; high-salaried men are not accustomed to waiting very long for work. Under present circumstances and until the civil-service machinery has become sufficiently limbered up to adapt itself to the high-speed requirements of high-priced men, provisional appointments in this class are an absolute necessity. As has been shown, the high-salaried provisional appointee almost invariably gets the job; and were this not a general rule, selecting men for these positions would be even more difficult.

Massachusetts has an unusual and advanced provision in respect to the provisional appointee:[1]

> Any provisional appointee who has served for six months or more in a department and who takes the regular competitive examination and passes the same, may, upon request by the appointing officer, be certified for permanent employment, regardless of his position on the list; provided the original requisition upon which the authority for provisional appointment was authorized called for a permanent employee.

Over and over again, when a new piece of work was undertaken without much preliminary notice, entirely unnecessary burdens were placed upon those in charge on account of the

[1] Civil Service Rules, Commonwealth of Massachusetts; Rule No. 29, Section 6.

delay in certifying the technical assistants required. Railroads and other industrial establishments carrying on large building and construction undertakings utilize great numbers of college students on vacations in the drafting rooms and on surveying corps and in other capacities. We were never able to utilize this class of men because by the time the civil-service examining procedure had fully run its course the fall term had opened and the students had to return to college.

One of the most insistent aims of the average civil-service commissioner is to reduce the number of provisional appointments. This is one of the barometers by which he measures the success of his work. Such an idea is a false measure of success at best. Furthermore, the mere figures by themselves may mean nothing as to the falling off in the tendency to provisional appointments. The Philadelphia Civil Service Commissioner's Report of January 30, 1915, contains this announcement:

> There were 86 provisional appointments made during 1914. This constitutes an unusual record. Reference to former reports will show that there were 605 such appointments during 1913. The number made in 1914 is a reduction of 85 per cent. under 1912. Since provisional appointments are made only when lists are inadequate or not in existence, it becomes evident at once that such a marked decrease in the number of provisional appointments indicates that eligible lists have been kept up to date.

The figures given are, beyond doubt, correct. The inferences drawn from these figures are what the college sophomore would call *non sequitur*. We must be acquainted with the facts to appreciate the mistake. In the first place, inadequate eligible lists almost always occur in connection with the high-class positions. In the second place, most of the changes in these higher-class positions are made at the beginning of a new administration; and especially is this true when a good

administration follows a poor one. This is just what happened in Philadelphia in 1912. Hence the abnormal number of provisional appointments during that year. As the new organization was worked out naturally there became less and less call for the higher-class men, where the provisional appointment comes so much in evidence. So the rapid fall off in the number of provisional appointments from 1912 to 1914 was a very natural and predictable process, which, if it proves anything, proves that the new administration was settling down to business with a new style of leadership. It must also be remembered that the more ordinary the calibre of men on a list the more permanent it is. The higher the class of men being attracted to the city's service the more frequent examinations become because the good men not immediately required by the city are snapped up by private employers.

PROMOTION WITHIN THE SERVICE

There is an almost evenly balanced difference of opinion among the friends of civil-service reform as to whether or not promotions within the service should be regulated by competitive tests. It is almost universally admitted that practical efficiency and executive ability are good criterions on which to base eligibility for promotion. Ordinarily, the administrative official knows which of the men working under his direction are deserving of promotion. Some contend, on the other hand, that a public officer may be subject to political influences, or personal prejudices of one kind and another, and that these influences rather than his own good judgment may be the determining factor. People who are continually thinking in these grooves are thinking of the civil service as a deterrent, and not as a constructive, agency. We prefer to think of its main purpose as an effort to get the best men into government work, and not to put politics out. Here again we

must enquire as to the product desired. Surely the main product of the civil service should be efficient employees, and every ounce of energy should be utilized to that end.

Mr. H. S. Gilbertson, Executive Secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization, assures us that "civil-service reform is developing in new directions and is correcting some of its mistakes, and there is a tendency to make records of efficiency the basis of promotion." Once again it becomes necessary to divide the field. Records of efficiency are possible over the greater part of the field of municipal work, but there are positions, especially those charged with executive leadership, where only the opinion of the superior would come anywhere near measuring the efficiency of the man in the service. The direct results of his work may be hard to see, while the indirect results, known only to his chief, may be of the greatest value.

My work in both the public service and in private undertakings has been very largely in connection with building up the organization, and yet I do not recall more than one or two instances at the most where those of us who were in responsible charge with a given position to fill were in any doubt as to who was entitled to promotion. Men and women considered with relation to a given post do not differ imperceptibly. It usually happens that, among any given number, when all the facts are known there is one who stands out as being quite distinctly the best one for the place. The most common and satisfactory test grows out of the day-to-day observations of the executive directing the efforts of any given group of workers. It would of course be a mistake for the civil service not to use this information.

The question as to the feasibility of promotions by civil service of course depends primarily on two considerations. Is such aid from the commission a help in civic betterment? Is the civil-service commission actually in a position to give

assistance to those in charge, in the matter of promotions within the service? Under existing circumstances I believe the civil-service commission has reached the limit of its effectiveness as a reform agency when it has acted on original appointments. This fact seems to be pretty generally recognized by those in the work. Practically all the laws give the appointing office a free hand in the discharge of appointees. This fact alone would seem to indicate that it is the present intention that the function of the commission should cease with the original appointment.

In reply to the second question there is certainly a good deal to be desired in the present methods used in determining the fitness and the personal and temperamental qualities of the candidate for an advanced position. Such being the case, the person who would do justice to the applicants must rely very largely on the records of the division in which those examined have served; and the selection made will approach the ideal only to the extent to which an intelligent interpretation is made of these records. As has been said, this is best done in the department and not by the civil service. So-called efficiency records, such as I have seen used by civil-service agencies, are very largely fakes judged by the standards used in industry.

The question of the possibility of the appointing officer's being influenced by corrupt politics should not enter into it. If such is the case, and the civil-service commission does not put his man ahead, the appointing officer can always find a way to get rid of others, so why play to the exceptions and make rules to cover cases which are disappearing from American municipal life?

Just a word should be said about inbreeding in this connection. Promotion examinations, i.e., examinations open only to present employees, if permitted too generally will lead to an undesirable amount of inbreeding. It is to the advantage

PRACTICAL CIVIL SERVICE TESTS IN NEW YORK CITY

Even the dentists must prove that they have the "know how!"

Prove that you are a paver by laying a few of these **Belgian blocks!**

CIVIL SERVICE AT ITS BEST

of the service, and in the long run to the employees themselves, that in every grade there shall be a constant influx of employees from the outside. These new people coming in with different training and other ideas have a tendency to keep everybody awake. The Government, and more especially the railroads, suffer from the fact that filling the higher positions by promotions is too universally the rule. It is good practice in theory but should not be followed so as to prevent constant infusion of new blood.

EXEMPTIONS

Perhaps even more of a nightmare than a provisional appointment to the stand-pat civil-service enthusiast is the position exempted from civil-service regulations. To him the exempted position represents the epitome of adverse criticism; each position so exempted adds to the life of boss rule. It is very true that many of the positions now exempted from civil-service regulations could be filled by that method just as easily and just as efficiently as others that do come within the scope of the commission's powers.

Exemption provisions are general throughout the states where civil-service regulations are in force. Heads of city departments are universally exempted. Often each department is allowed one or more "confidential" assistants. Many other positions are exempted in various cases for local reasons. In one city that came to our attention there were a number of exemptions in various technical positions for the purpose of enabling the appointing officials to seek outside assistance with greater ease. There was practically no local talent along certain lines, and it was wisely considered that the appointing official, who is responsible for his subordinates, would be better armed in his search for expert assistance if placed in a position to act promptly and finally.

St. Louis, Missouri, exempted 375 positions in 1915. These exemptions, which are fairly liberal, include:

(a) All officers elected by the people.
(b) All heads of departments, offices and divisions.
(c) All boards appointed by the mayor.
(d) All boards however appointed where serving without compensation.
(e) One secretary, deputy, or assistant to each officer elected by the people, head of department, office, division or board, where such subordinate is authorized by law.
(f) One stenographer to each officer elected by the people, head of department, office, division or board, where such subordinate is authorized by law.
(g) All members of the Board of Aldermen.
(h) All officers of the Board of Aldermen.
(i) All surgeons, physicians, or other experts serving in a consulting or other capacity without compensation.
(j) Such other officials or employees requiring exceptional scientific, mechanical, professional, or educational qualifications as may be ordered from time to time by the board upon a unanimous vote.

The heads of departments, being policy-determining officers, are justly exempted from the operation of the civil-service regulations. In a responsible government, the only kind which will get results, directors of departments should be personal appointees of the one to whom the people have entrusted their interests, and he should be held responsible for that trust.

The truth seems to be that if civil-service "examinations" could be made actual tests of merit for the particular position, rather than a species of mental gymnastics not especially designed to pick out the one best man, perhaps many of the positions now exempt could be put in the classified service. The men who are appointed to many places now exempt would not object to having their fitness fully demonstrated

in some sane fashion but they very properly resent being subjected to the chance of the race track.

The so-called "confidential" position is another object of attack by those who prefer to believe that present civil-service methods are the complete cure for all our present municipal ills. With Dr. Carl Schurz, I feel that most confidential posts have very few duties of a confidential character. The Department of Public Works of Philadelphia has two positions whose titles are Special Inspector and General Inspector. These positions pay salaries of $2,500 each and were formerly both "confidential" positions. These two inspectors were expected to do the "gum-shoe" work for the Director in the various bureaus. When I became Director of the Department other duties had to be found for the Special and General Inspectors. Both were put under civil-service regulations and assigned principally to accounting duties in connection with the various bureaus. Later, because of the fact that I could get no appropriations for expert investigations, the General Inspectorship was made a "confidential" position simply to have it relieved of civil-service regulations. This was done almost entirely to get away from the routine civil-service delays. Could each department be allowed a small percentage of the total appropriation for special work, the money to be accounted for after it was spent, as heretofore suggested, I can then see no reason for a confidential assistant being assigned to department heads.

REMOVALS FROM THE SERVICE

Replying to the query as to his opinion of the section of the model civil-service bill of the Civil Service Reform League, which provides for removals by the commission exclusively, Henry M. Waite, City Manager of Dayton, Ohio, said:[1]

[1] "Good Government," XXXII, No. 10, p. 92, November, 1915.

I have your letter concerning the Civil Service Reform League model charter in which "The power of removing subordinates is no longer left in the hands of the supervising officer, as he cannot deal effectively with questions of personnel." This is again where the theorists step over the line of practical operation. No executive can successfully operate if he cannot be responsible for his organization. Discipline could not be maintained. Your civil-service board had better abdicate, your results would be more likely to attain success than under the proposed idea.

I cannot see how any person who desires success could afford to attempt to operate under such a rule. Certainly I would not.

The opinions of a number of railroad officials and large manufacturers brought out, with one exception, the same thought. Their contention was that the man at the wheel should be given free rein. The best results were impossible to their thinking if some of the subordinates kept their positions against the judgment of the leader.

The position of the men giving these opinions as far as their own establishments are concerned is almost parallel with that of the civil-service commission in respect to the public service. These business men would not permit an employee to be removed from their service with their knowledge, merely because some foreman did not happen to like the colour of his hair. By analogy a civil-service commission should not permit the removal of a public employee in the classified service, merely because he happened to have voted for the losing party at the last election. In this type of cases, as in all others, the commission may well model its action after that of the progressive private employer in similar cases. Any private employer should act in a fearless and constructive way to protect his employees from the results of personal caprice. So should the commission take the initiative in protecting efficient public servants from the whims of political bosses. The only kind of permanency that the municipal employee should expect is

the kind that the private employer offers—the only guarantee capable men desire.

ENUMERATION OF DUTIES

Specific duties attached to various posts are often requested by the civil-service commissions, presumably for the purpose of making up the examination questions. An exact enumeration is often as impossible as it is undesirable, especially in the higher grades. It is just this impossibility of specifying exactly the duties of these higher positions that makes their satisfactory filling by civil-service commissions so difficult.

The administrator wants flexibility in his organization. To effect this the duties of most positions must vary from time to time. To change men every time the duties of their positions change would be absolute folly. The successful candidate in an examination based strictly on specified duties may turn out, in the course of a year, to be wholly unfit for the position. If the duties of different officials may be defined in such general terms as one civil-service commission used in defining the duties of some of its employees, there is possibly no harm in outlining the duties attached to the various positions. For example, part of the work of a "head stenographer" was officially given as: "acts for the chief clerk in various matters." Such definition makes sufficient allowance for the flexibility demanded by the appointing officer; but it does not define. A generous use of "etc."—another predilection of this same commission—suggests another method of defining titles while retaining flexibility of duties.

Even in the lower-grade positions, this exact definition of duties is liable to encumber the efficiency of the department to no good purpose. It was necessary for the Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning in Philadelphia to get rid of a number

of skilled labourers who had been shifted temporarily to clerical work. There was at the time a scarcity of clerical assistance in the Bureau and an over-abundance of skilled labour, and the men transferred were fully qualified for their new duties. They had to seek other jobs and new men were brought into the Bureau from the eligible list of clerks, possibly leaving vacant clerical positions in industrial concerns. It is not possible in a Bureau of Highways to maintain at all seasons of the year a uniform balance as between clerical and other kinds of work.

At a time when skilled labour was over-plentiful there was need for two additional chauffeurs. Two capable men from the skilled-labour class in the same bureau were transferred to these positions. The city was getting the services of two chauffeurs at the cost of skilled labourers, and two men were kept on the job. Here strict interpretation of the civil-service law demanded additional unnecessary expense to the city, unnecessary shifting of four men, two being thrown out of work, and the training of two new men to the particular requirements of their positions. Such methods on the part of the municipality do their share to increase the city's unemployment problem. An inflexible system in civil service is as cumbersome and costly as inflexible men in the public service.

Civil-service commissions, as a class, have not come to realize that their function is the active one of *finding the best available man for the job*, and not the passive one of recommending a passable candidate. For the man already employed, and for one who listens to overtures with reluctance, the passing of the qualifying examinations is usually a perfunctory detail. As President Moskowitz of the New York City Civil Service Commission has said, a live-wire commission will find ways to disregard rules when they interfere with progress. Civil-service commissioners cannot afford to be fatalists in their regard for the mechanisms of the law.

It has been suggested that possibly the civil-service commissioners themselves should possess certain qualifications to secure their jobs. One of the first qualifications that I would suggest is that every commissioner shall have served at least two years as an executive official. As a matter of fact, most civil-service commissioners are lawyers.

Methods should be adopted that will obtain quicker results from examinations. In departments such as those in which there is a great deal of construction work which varies in amount from season to season, it is necessary at times to increase quickly the force in certain divisions. The most desirable candidates will not wait around two months after an examination to find out whether they are to be available for appointment. Civil service has operated in most cities as if it had a negative object—the prevention of unwarranted favouritism. Peculiarly enough it is operated almost exclusively by men who have never had any practical experience in the handling of employees. The really remarkable thing is that the results are as good as they are.

This brings us to one of the fundamental handicaps in connection with civil-service work, namely the appropriation. Civil service, where enforced, touches every fibre of our public service. As the methods advance, any city council can well afford to provide without stint for the operation of the civil service. To demand the best services—not charity work—of the most competent examiners requires large funds, which will be returned to the city many-fold through efficient workers. Funds should be available that will make it possible for the commission to conduct thorough personal searches for the right man for any particular position.

We wish to register a deepening conviction that some form of civil service is absolutely necessary for a proper conduct of municipal business. Were it not for civil service, the life of the average administrator would be rendered almost

unbearable. At the same time, we are convinced that the civil-service system in this country is suffering from an over-confidence in its present methods by those administering it. We believe that over a large part of the field the methods used are archaic; that as the grade of the position to be filled rises, the present methods of examining are less and less likely to produce the right kind of men. The civil service should be looked upon as corresponding to an employment bureau in the ordinary industrial establishment. Among the changes which would appear to be for the good of the system are: the appointing officer should be allowed greater scope in signifying the particular type of employee he wants at any given time; more weight should be given to a candidate's previous experience and record, and less to what he is able to submit in a four-hour examination; promotions should in greater measure be dependent on record of work done rather than on examination; civil service should be operated, primarily, to promote efficiency rather than to check favouritism.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARM OF PUBLICITY

MY ADVERTISING policy is based on the recognition of two fundamental facts. First: with our advancing educational standards and with the development of a finer public spirit in city, state, and nation our people become increasingly anxious to know about public affairs. Second: with the rapid increase in the total sum of human knowledge and amid the growing complexities of modern life it becomes more and more difficult for the average man to know enough about his government to enable him to act intelligently. Obviously both these statements must be qualified in various ways. But any administrator will be well advised if he assumes an eagerness on the part of all his public to know, not something, but everything about the government—its purposes and the manner of their execution. There is nothing in this to prevent us from recognizing that our people become increasingly busy; that for every governmental function of a generation ago we have perhaps ten to-day, and that, therefore, if we are to keep our constituencies informed, very simple and sometimes novel methods must be utilized. If public understanding is necessary for public support then the successful administrator—other things being equal—will be the one who uses a maximum of those methods which tend toward the broadest possible enlightenment of the public.

Publicity is the backbone of progress. Our largest and most successful private corporations are more and more taking

the public into their confidence. This includes facts both about the commodity sold and methods of operation. Especially during recent years a very large number of instances could be cited where private corporations have accomplished almost marvellous results through advertising and publicity campaigns. During recent years advertising space in the newspapers—especially in our larger centres of population—has been used very efficiently to afford the public fuller information on matters of interest to the public such as (a) the purchase of an electric distribution system in Los Angeles, Cal.; (b) opposing the erection of a government armour plant, (c) the strike of garment workers in New York, and (d) the eight-hour day for railway employees.

If no particular and immediate object is sought by the advertising corporation, facts are widely circulated in the hope of creating a generally favourable public opinion. It has come to be recognized that upon the opinion of the consumer very largely depends the success of any enterprise. There is practically no limit to the field of endeavour in which publicity may operate successfully. The practical politician must be a skilled advertiser in his efforts to mould public opinion. A good bill can be put through any legislature in a legitimate way if the funds are available for the proper sort of publicity campaign. In October, 1915, E. St. Elmo Lewis and his associates, counsel in organization and management, announced their preparation for the business of "creating a town spirit." This is an end undoubtedly quite possible of attainment by the methods proposed.

If it is a well-recognized fact that publicity brings rich returns to large private corporations the case is no different in its essentials when the corporation is the city. The city caters to the same customers as do our industrial corporations, the public utilities and the railroads. It behooves the public official to use to the utmost the opportunities at hand for edu-

cating and influencing public opinion to a favourable impression of the concern he represents.

With the widening of the field of government it becomes increasingly difficult to instruct the people as to the uses to which their money has been put as well as those objects for which it is proposed to expend future sums. The ever-widening of the reaches of human knowledge, the gathering together of our population in larger and larger municipal units, and the constant influx of those not even acquainted with our language, make novel methods of publicity necessary. For one reason or another public officials are not as a rule able to get publicity, nor to make the people understand their purposes and work. A man in private business frequently answers that he does not have to give his reasons; sometimes he even resents being asked for them. But a public official should beg for widespread discussion of public problems, for only in this way can he get the necessary public support for those plans deserving support. Too frequently the public has either half information or misinformation.

There is probably no question affecting the administration of American municipalities to-day which is of greater moment than this one. We have to get rid of the now old-fashioned idea that advertising is a crime. I admit that as a part of my work as a public official I put in a great deal of thought on what may be quite properly called advertising. Especially was this so in respect to my annual reports whose chief aim was rather human interest and "easy reading" than dignity of form and diction. It is only as public officials learn to make the public, sometimes against its will, understand their work, that they will get that degree of popular support which will make it possible to do the work in an efficient manner.

It is going to become more and more a necessity, not only in public but in private work, for those in charge to be able to *popularize* what they do. It is true to-day that a man who

wants to do really good and efficient work can do so only after an aroused public opinion. You cannot drive people in a democracy. In offering employment to an engineer, other things being equal, I want what might be called a good advertiser. You can secure appropriations for work more easily when it is well advertised. The building of the Panama Canal is a good example of this principle in action.

Again, advertising is the best possible check against ill-advised expenditures. In building our Byberry and Bensalem Service Test Roadway we erected sign boards on each of the twenty-six sections giving to the layman the exact method of its construction in non-technical language. If the public is informed how a street is supposed to be constructed or cleaned, you do not require so many paid inspectors.

The erection of these signs on the Service Test Roadway was generally considered quite an innovation but I would now advise going even further. For every man who will stop and read a sign there are one hundred who will stop to look at a cross section of the road itself if we had such a cross section cut out and properly displayed at the roadside. It would be better still to have a typical cross section painted on a sign board to a sufficiently large scale so that the method of construction can be taken in almost without stopping. Those who advertise soup and whiskeys realize that by using a picture which can be read without stopping they get perhaps a thousand readers for one who would stop. There is so much to command our interest and to divert us that only that man gets our attention who really makes it easier for us to get his message than to avoid it.

The development of some varieties of municipal engineering is absolutely dependent upon the development of public opinion and must proceed with it. The matter of street cleaning is largely a question of an improved public taste in the matter

of street paving. Unless streets are well paved they cannot be well cleaned except at a prohibitive cost. To jump from one degree of cleanliness on the highways to another, without a supporting public opinion, may be enough to wreck an administration and to set the tide of civic improvement running in the opposite direction.

The newspaper is the great educator in these matters to-day, but moving pictures, parades, and exhibitions will come into increasing popularity. The possibilities of these and other means of publicity are not yet fully understood.

OFFICIAL REPORTS

In the matter of writing reports there is the greatest room for improvement. Too frequently in the past they have been stereotyped in form, weighted down with page after page of dry and almost meaningless figures, and written in a style forbidding to all except a small professional class of municipal administrators.

Almost without exception the engineering reports from other cities contain page after page of inconsequential matter or at least data and information which it is more than useless to put in type.

The last annual report of the Department of Public Works of Boston, after addressing his Honour the Mayor of that City, almost arouses curiosity at the outset by its lack of human interest.

SIR—In compliance with the Revised Ordinances, the annual report of the operations and expenses of the Public Works Department for the year ending January 31, 1914, is herewith submitted. The Public Works Department created by Ordinances of 1910, Chapter 9, was formed by consolidating the Engineering, Water and Street Departments, etc., etc.

Then follow 495 pages of charts, diagrams, and statistical tables. It is a safe guess that not even in Boston was this read to any considerable extent. This report is not an exception, a freak example; it is the usual thing. Send for some of them and see how ridiculous they sound. They are sent free to the public.

Compare the interest aroused by the introductory sentences of the report just cited, with the following:

Director, Department of Public Works.

I beg to submit a review of the Bureau of Water's operation for 1914.

The following portion is written for the purpose of being read; data, statistics, and tabular information which may be useful for study and reference will be found in an appendix.

That portion written for the "purpose of being read" occupied twenty-three pages; that part interesting for study and reference occupied forty pages.

Pages 89 to 104 of the last annual report of the Board of Water Commissioners of Wilmington (Delaware) listed spare parts of water meters on hand in the storehouse. Such illuminating entries as these are printed—probably at a cost of two dollars per page:

1	Brush-wire	$0.25
2	Drift pins	.10
5	Emery sheets	.20
1	File mill	.15

Another glaring example of the same thing is the thirty-ninth annual report of the Board of Public Works of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Again any printer's mouth would water at the sight of the compact volume, about one and a half inches thick, which contains the "Annual Reports 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913, Department of Engineering, City of Rochester." I cannot

believe that anybody every really reads such ponderous public documents. Such masses of figures evidently published with the idea of providing publicity really act in the contrary manner. At best the taxpayer's attention can only be attracted by the big essentials. Most municipal reports are trackless mazes of inconsequential bookkeeping entries of the old-fashioned—if not entirely obsolete—sort.

We continually made the effort, in our official reports, to retain in the body of the report only such matters as were of more or less general interest, and to present them in such shape as to command public attention. Tabular and other technical details, interesting to only a limited class, were either put in the appendices or left out altogether. When the data was omitted entirely it was noted in the report that such information was on file in the bureau where it could be consulted, or from which place it would be sent out to those interested.

Public reports should be freely illustrated with photographs and charts. The illustration showing the City Hall of Philadelphia in an aquarium makes an instant and lasting impression on the mind of the citizen reader. It enables him to visualize the enormous amount of water used by his city.

There is apparently indefinite room for improvement in the matter of the graphic presentation of cost and other financial data of interest to the public. A good exhibit of this is the chart showing the distribution of Philadelphia's expenditures shown in an earlier chapter.

Public officials should remember that "news" from the newspaper man's standpoint has certain definite—more or less technical—characteristics which it is well to study. The same thing said at different times may on the one occasion and in one connection be "news" and be handled as such by the papers, while three days later it will not cause the reporter to raise an eyebrow. Many matters which by themselves are not

conspicuously available for newspaper use can be made so by a proper setting.

Sewers and news about sewers do not fire the public imagination and hence the newspapers pay little attention to them. We were able to secure a large appropriation ($200,000) for a sewer that had been pressing for many years, largely through the human interest injected into a public hearing by the pathetic story of a poor baker-woman who had her small stock of flour ruined at every heavy rainfall and all for the want of the sewer. The story reached the first page of the newspapers and a public agitation and the appropriation were the result.

For one person who reads an article ten glance through it or read the first paragraph and one hundred read the headlines. In an effort to reach the larger number by putting the work of the department in the headlines we changed entirely the character of the cover and title pages of our reports. There had not been previously any appreciable change in the Water Bureau Reports in this respect for over 100 years—both cover and title pages were always the same. The range is shown by these two samples:

First	*Last*
Report of the Joint Committee Select and Common Councils on the Subject of Bringing Water to the City Philadelphia 1798	Annual Report of the Bureau of Water City of Philadelphia For the year 1913

These pages were undoubtedly exceedingly chaste and dignified and involved the author in very little trouble, but

PRACTICAL TESTS ARE THE LAST WORD IN CIVIL SERVICE
Sifting out the men who can quickly caulk a joint which will not leak

CIVIL SERVICE AS AN AID TO MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT
These candidates seek appointments as detectives

ILLUSTRATION TO SHOW THE ENORMOUS VOLUME OF FILTERED WATER USED BY THE CITY

City Hall is 486½ feet long from the north to the south and 470 feet wide from east to west. From the pavement to the crown of the hat of the William Penn statue surmounting the tower is 547 feet, 11½ inches.

The people of Philadelphia consume every 67 hours enough pure filtered water to completely fill a huge receptacle (as above shown in the form of an aquarium) large enough to enclose City Hall, including the tower and all.

VISUALIZING THE WATER PROBLEM

Such an illustration will assist Mr. Average Citizen to understand the need for a $5,000,000 annual expenditure

they were not enlightening to those who paid the bills. The cover page for the 1914 report for the same bureau reads:

REVIEW OF THE YEAR'S WORK
IN 1914
PHILADELPHIA BUREAU OF WATER

FIVE POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. Waste of water is the principal obstacle to further improvement of the supply.
2. Cost of operation and maintenance in 1914 was $450,000 less than in 1911.
3. Lowest typhoid rate of recent years proves the quality of water furnished by the filters.
4. Meter and fixture rates should be equalized and meters placed upon wasteful users.
5. Additions to the water system should be planned for 25 years ahead.

What had formerly been the title page of the same report appeared as follows:

BUREAU OF WATER STATISTICS

REVENUES

Increasing Receipts	1912	$4,947,649
	1913	4,949,701
	1914	5,191,345

COST OF OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

Decreasing Costs	1912	$2,271,658
	1913	2,013,322
	1914	1,826,754

COAL BURNED

Saving of Coal	1912	201,168 tons
	1913	183,686 "
	1914	179,736 "

NEW PIPE LAID

Increase of Service	1912	15 miles
	1913	19 "
	1914	25 "

PER CAPITA DAILY CONSUMPTION

Cutting Down Waste	1912.	198 gallons
	1913.	178 "
	1914.	173 "

The whole object of a municipal advertising campaign must be to inform the public and to inform it just as broadly and intimately as it is at all possible to do. The arrangement of cover and title pages, of our reports so that they would tell the story in the best possible way thus became an important matter.

Following, in the order in which they were developed, are the proofs of the three cover pages which were worked out for our 1914 report. The printer became very much interested as the various styles were suggested and tried out. He volunteered the comment that No. 3 (the one finally adopted) was undesirable because of the fact that it looked so much like an advertisement! It was the realization of these facts, the conviction that public documents must be readable, that caused me to attempt to disarm the skepticism of the public by adopting in my 1914 report the title page shown on page 205.

In writing our annual reports the heads of the several bureaus were encouraged to express quite freely their own views on work already done as well as on plans for the future in the hope that it would stimulate public interest and discussion, and lead to a more intelligent public opinion about matters in which the people were interested and for which public funds were expended. Too frequently public officials fail to assume this leadership in the work entrusted to them.

1

PLAIN TALK ABOUT PUBLIC WORKS

IN THIS REPORT ARE DISCUSSED:

ECONOMIES	GOOD ROADS	CITY PLAN
PUBLIC SINGING	BRIDGES	PUBLIC UTILITIES
GAS WORKS	SIGN BOARDS	GRAFT
DRINKING WATER	CONTRACTS	STREET LIGHTING
PIGEONS	GARBAGE	MARKETING
STREET CLEANING	BAND MUSIC	WATER WASTE

AND OTHER THINGS OF GENERAL INTEREST

"And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail, has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be the blest of the Lord, and thy people saved by His power!"

WILLIAM PENN, 1684.

THE REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS, PHILADELPHIA
1914

2

PLAIN TALK

IN THIS REPORT ARE DISCUSSED:

Economies	Good Roads	City Plan
Public Singing	Bridges	Public Utilities
Gas Works	Sign Boards	Graft
Drinking Water	Contracts	Street Lighting
Pigeons	Garbage	Marketing
Street Cleaning	Band Music	Water Waste

And Other Things of General Interest

"And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail, has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be the blest of the Lord, and thy people saved by His power!"
—WILLIAM PENN, 1684

THE REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS PHILADELPHIA 1914

3

PLAIN TALK

IN THIS REPORT ARE DISCUSSED

Economies	Public Singing
Gas Works	Drinking Water
Pigeons	Street Cleaning
Good Roads	Bridges
Sign Boards	Contracts
Garbage	Band Music
City Plan	Public Utilities
Graft	Street Lighting
Marketing	Water Waste

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THE REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS PHILADELPHIA 1914

REPORT OF DIRECTOR DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS PHILADELPHIA 1914

COVER PAGE STUDIES

Even typography counts when you are trying to get a hearing .

We can always be more than glad to accommodate ourselves to a public opinion contrary to our own after it has expressed itself, without in any way yielding our obligation to press our own views until the public has so spoken.

An admirable example of an instructive and readable document is the Municipal Year Book of New York City for 1915. It is a neat volume printed in good type filled with many easily grasped facts and altogether enjoyable reading. It is in reality a citizen's handbook. The Year Book explains the various bureaus and departments, their duties and powers. It takes up in interesting detail the whole city government. It was apparently written with the purpose of enticing the citizen already surfeited with much reading. Mayor Mitchel gives the facts of this transformation in the opening paragraph of his introduction:

> I am especially pleased that during my administration there should again be made available to the public, facts like those contained in this Municipal Year Book. From 1841 to 1870 the city clerk compiled annually a "Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York," which is now a quaint but authoritative source of information regarding the earlier days of New York City's government. During the last year of my predecessor's administration the publication of a manual or handbook was revived and a Municipal Year Book was prepared by the Mayor's secretary. The present Year Book is a further development of this idea.

PUBLIC OPINION AND PUBLIC DISCUSSION

Any municipal undertaking that is really justified is bound to get adequate support and coöperation if you can stir up enough public discussion of the subject. Public discussion usually resolves itself into public opinion, and this public opinion soon finds various and effective ways to express itself. If there is any one thing to which a crooked politician gives immediate attention it is an aroused public opinion. He

DRINKING WATER HAS BECOME A MANUFACTURED PRODUCT

CIVIC EXHIBIT AT CLEVELAND CITY CLUB

CLEAN-UP WEEK CAR CARD

Made in bold design to be seen both from within and from without the car

CLEAN-UP WEEK COÖPERATION

Many of the merchants displayed special signs on their delivery wagons

DEAR READER

Please forget that this is a public document. Read it rather as a study in home-making—as the record of one year of effort to make of Philadelphia the best place in all the world in which to live. This report of the Director of Public Works to the Mayor of the city is really a story of the stewardship of 4000 city employees working for the other 1,600,000 citizens.

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE,
DIRECTOR.

P. S.—At least look at the pictures!

M. L. C.

has his hands ever on the ropes ready to swing into the wind when it threatens to overturn the treasure ship of state.

Mayor Blankenburg was always strongly impressed with the value of public discussion The entire foreword to a pamphlet on "Real Estate and Its Taxation in Philadelphia," issued in May, 1913, was devoted to this thought.

> The subject of this pamphlet is of vital importance to every man, woman, and child in Philadelphia. It matters little whether the particular suggestions set forth in the following pages are wise or unwise. The urgent matter is that taxpayers, real estate men, builders, members of building and loan associations, and, indeed, all thoughtful citizens, should familiarize themselves with this subject; look into it carefully, each from his own point of view and *discuss it in public and private. If this is done, a proper solution of our present difficulties will soon be forthcoming.* To aid in such intelligent study and discussion, I gladly take the opportunity of giving publicity to what I know to be a careful, conscientious, and informing study of methods of assessing real estate for purposes of taxation.

The pamphlet itself, after it has discussed, one by one, what seemed to be the evils of Philadelphia's taxation system, and suggested remedies therefor, asks the following question:

> Supposing that all real estate is assessed at its full value; that the assessment system embraces the principles of separate assessment on land and improvements; that the members of the Board of Revision, the assessors and the clerks, are men chosen for their fitness and are under the control of the taxpayers; that the department is equipped with the proper tools, such as block and lot maps, land value maps, and factors of value of new buildings; what still remains necessary to make the system efficient?

The answer given was: "Systematic publicity." It was very properly contended that, even should a perfect system be developed, it would still be necessary to instruct the tax-

payer, not only as to the amount at which his property is assessed, but as to how that assessment is figured.

EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

From a dollar-and-cents standpoint, by far the most important work of the Bureau of Water of Philadelphia during the course of the year 1912 was a widely conducted campaign looking toward the education of the public to a more reasonable and economical use of water. That this campaign was successful was indicated in many different ways. From the start every effort was made to impress upon the public that it was not desired that any one should limit the legitimate use of water. In a large part of our city it is unfortunately true that the *per-capita* consumption of water for legitimate purposes should be increased, and it will be increased with the betterment of our living standards. It is equally true, however, that, both for manufacturing and residential uses, Philadelphia at the time we began this crusade—barring only two or three smaller cities—was the most wasteful city in the world in its use of water. Philadelphia is undoubtedly fortunate in lying at the junction of two such magnificent waterways as the Delaware and Schuylkill. Under proper management this means that our necessary expense for water will be always less than that of other cities not so favoured. But it is not wise to allow this good fortune to be given as an excuse for a profligate waste of water—a waste certainly amounting to one half of all we use, or perhaps 100 gallons *per capita* per day. Considering the fact that it has to be pumped, and sometimes pumped twice, and always allowed to settle and that it is then filtered twice, water should be recognized as a manufactured product and therefore ought not to be regarded "as free as air."

The first step in the water-waste campaign was the securing

of an ordinance allowing the installation of water meters, heretofore prohibited for residences and prohibited for manufacturing establishments except where excessive waste was shown. Between the years 1913 and 1916 the number of meters in Philadelphia increased from 2,000 to nearly 50,000.

THE WATER CONSERVATION EXHIBIT

This was followed by the Water Conservation Show, so successfully held in the City Hall Courtyard, which was visited by nearly 400,000 people and indirectly resulted in a large number of meetings being held both in the City Hall and in the several sections of the city. This exhibit was entirely made up of meters and other water-saving appliances. No rent was charged for the space, the only restriction being that nothing was to be shown that did not have a direct bearing on the conservation of the City's water supply. It was the first time, to our knowledge, that such an exhibit had been held, and, as a result of it, similar exhibits have followed and are being planned, not only in other cities in this country, but abroad. In connection with the Water Conservation Exhibit several thousand buttons of unique design were circulated among school children and prizes were offered to children of the Seventh and Eighth Grades for the best essay on the saving of water in domestic uses. Two pamphlets were distributed in large numbers, giving publicity to the progress of the work and its results.

A large crew of water inspectors was put on for house-to-house inspection. This scheme had formerly been tried and abandoned as too expensive. Under better supervision, and we believe a higher type of men, the cost was gradually reduced to about four cents per house visited—obviously a figure at which work of this kind can be carried on profitably. During the first year practically the entire city was covered twice by

this inspection force, and through the canvass hundreds of thousands of leaky fixtures were located and repaired. It is a curious commentary on human nature that of all leaks detected not more than one in five thousand was that of a hot-water fixture. As the householder has an interest in the expense of heating the water, he also apparently is interested in seeing that it is not wasted.

During the three years from 1912 to 1914, inclusive, our inspectors visited 1,887,531 buildings with the following results, which were given great publicity:

Broken Pipes	24,836
Leaking Hydrants	62,879
" Flush Tanks	117,961
" Spigots	136,841
" Troughs	350
Total	342,867

METERING CITY HALL SUPPLY

In order to set an example in municipal saving, a 12-inch meter was installed in the City Hall. It resulted in immediately cutting the water consumption in that building by half. An arrangement with the Board of Education was made through which the metering of all the school houses within the next four years will result. It is unfortunate that in these institutions, which should teach our young people good habits, we have found the most flagrant waste of water. From an advertising point of view all the water appliances in our public schools should be of the very best.

Elimination of the waste of water has the added good effect of giving us greater pressure both for fire and home purposes. Very marked betterment in this respect has been noticeable in several different sections of the City. When we began there

were large areas of the City where water never reached the third floor, and not even the second floor at certain hours of the day. The added pressure is obviously a big gain in the matter of fire fighting. Philadelphia's present water supply will be adequate for the next five or ten years if we can put its use on something near a proper basis. It is obvious that if we make any addition to our water facilities it will mean an expenditure of $15,000,000 or $20,000,000 and every year that this can be postponed will mean a saving of $1,000,000 in interest and sinking fund charges.

That this campaign for the conservation of our water was in some measure successful is evidenced by the fact that

In 1911	Philadelphia	consumed	202	gal.	*per capita*	per	day		
" 1912	"	"	195	"	"	"	"	"	"
" 1913	"	"	175	"	"	"	"	"	"
" 1914	"	"	160	"	"	"	"	"	"

The public could understand the effect of the efforts the Water Bureau was making from the following statistics as to the bureau's coal consumption:

	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Cost	$618,381	$570,480	$616,601	$527,802	$509,145
Tons	210,263	201,452	201,168	183,686	179,736

It must be remembered that this saving was effected notwithstanding a rapidly growing population. In suggesting means for conserving the water supply, in its pamphlet "A Great Industrial Plant and Its Owners," the Philadelphia bureau suggests:

There are just two methods in which successful attacks on water waste can be made. One method may be explained by grouping all known mechanical means such as metering, house-to-house inspection with the imposition of penalties when necessary, and

the investigation and stoppage of leaks in the street mains and services. The other method can be summed up in the single expression Civic Education—meaning, of course, public sentiment, clean politics, wise government.

It is doubtful whether the first method alone, and unaided by the latter, would be successful.

The latter method alone might be successful but a combination of both will not only bring about the desired result immediately, but so educate the coming generation as to make it permanent.

When Commissioner Thompson of the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, of New York City, went into office, the *per-capita* water consumption of that city was 127 gallons. Investigations were made by experts on the subject, special inspectors were employed to stop the leaks, and a Waste-Water-Prevention Crusade was carried on to educate the public. Mr. E. L. Harvey, Secretary of this Department, is the authority for the statement that in three years leaks were stopped which, had they been allowed to continue, would have wasted over $3,000,000 worth of water. The cost to the taxpayers for this saving was a little more than $75,000.

A publicity campaign put the people in the proper frame of mind to coöperate with this unusual inspection. The stoppage of these leaks and the water-saving crusade reduced the *per-capita* consumption to 95 gallons and it is hardly possible that the City suffered through any lowering in its standards of cleanliness.

Before Philadelphia installed its present adequate system for filtering its water supply, the death rate due to typhoid was abnormally high and the water, especially after a heavy rain, carried enough extraneous matter to give it a dark brown colour. At that time, of course, it was considered suicidal to drink the water as it came from the faucet. Most householders boiled it while those who could afford to do so

bought spring water. The Philadelphia supply, however, is no longer subject to criticism and our typhoid rate is as low as almost any city in the world. The boiling of the water, however, continues in tens of thousands of homes and an economic loss results. A larger percentage of those who can afford it still purchase spring water, and as it is not, on the average, nearly so pure as the city supply, the health of the community is lowered. It will take years to educate the public away from its dread of the city supply inherited from a time when conditions were very different. But it was necessary to make a beginning in the campaign.

In one of our annual reports for the benefit of those who are in a hurry as well as those who lean on graphic stories, we put all this information, in several different forms. For instance, in the cut shown on the opposite page is told through photographs the story of the comparative values of the products of the average spring and of the City's water works.

Thorough publicity, besides being a valuable asset for arousing public interest, has at times yielded immediate results in other directions—even to the saving of lives. The incident of a break in a 48-inch main in one of the residential districts of Philadelphia in 1912, and the consequent turning of raw water into the mains, was of such a nature as to put the management of the Water Bureau on its mettle. There have been very few incidents in the history of that Bureau which have reflected greater credit on its officials. An almost identical break[1] occurred on November 28th of the previous year resulting in 367 cases of typhoid and 25 deaths. Dr. Neff has declared that owing to the method of handling the second break, absolutely no cases of typhoid resulted.

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[1]Fully described by Joseph S. Neff, M.D., LL.D., Ph. D., Director of Public Health and Charities, in a paper read in the section on "Preventive Medicine and Public Health" of the American Medical Association, at the Sixty-third annual Session held in Atlantic City, June, 1912.

THE "MOVIES" USED FOR PUBLICITY

A typical slide used in nearly two hundred moving picture houses to advertise "Clean-Up Week"

HOUSE CLEANING WITH A VENGEANCE

Typical assortment of rubbish collected during "Clean-Up Week"

PARADE OF THE WHITE WINGS
Moving pictures of this great demonstration were shown in all theatres

Description of great parkway project erected outside Sunday Tabernacle

A MOVING BIT OF PUBLICITY
Little? Yes, but it got the road repaired

The following schedule indicates the completeness of the preparations made and carried through by the Chief of the Bureau, Carleton E. Davis, and his associates:

First. Upon the first indication of trouble the main at this point was patrolled and men were stationed at the valves to turn off the water should a break occur, and before any great amount of damage had been done.

Second. The water was finally turned off on a Friday night at an hour when it was still possible to reach the Saturday morning's papers with the news.

Third. The treatment of the raw water with hypochloride of lime was begun at once.

Fourth. Arrangements had been made with the night telephone operator to communicate with every man whose services were required in case of a break and most of these men were

BUREAU OF WATER

Notice to Householders

BOIL YOUR WATER

Boil all water used for drinking purposes at least five minutes, until further notice. An accident compels the Bureau to supply this neighborhood with Raw unfiltered water.

Typhoid fever is caused by taking typhoid germs into the body with food or drink. These germs are most generally carried by means of water, and this warning is given to you that you may protect yourself and family by boiling all City water used for drinking and cooking purposes in your household until further notice.

Neglect of this notice may result in serious illness and even death itself may follow.

Typhoid fever is particularly fatal in the age period 15 years to 30 years, and about one-third of the total deaths from this disease will occur in persons between those ages.

There is no uncertainty in the means by which we catch typhoid fever, and it is reasonably certain that about 600 persons out of every 100,000 people exposed to infection will catch this disease and that about 50 of those 600 will die.

Do not take any chances on being one of the 600 or you may help to make up the 50. Obey this warning.

AN IDEA FROM PARIS

These cards were always on hand in every police station ready for emergencies

at work within an hour of the time that filtered water was turned off.

Fifth. Beginning at seven o'clock in the morning, the police in the districts affected began the distribution of upward of 20,000 "Boil Your Water" cards to each individual home in the district affected. These had been prepared nearly a year before they were put in use for just such an emergency.

Sixth. By noon the two telephone companies had telephoned to nearly 13,000 subscribers cautioning them to boil the water.

Seventh. During the day, twenty-three inspectors were sent through the districts placing printed placards on telegraph poles, in shop windows, etc.

Eighth. One hundred special delivery letters were sent to ministers in the district asking for their coöperation in calling attention to the danger at each of the church and Sunday-school services on the following day,.

Ninth. Through the Superintendent of Schools, it was arranged that on the following Monday morning, the same announcement should be made to all the school children.

Tenth. The work of repair was so planned as to make relatively sure that the same accident will not occur again, and so energetically executed as to have filtered water again passing through the main in less than twenty-four hours.

THE CITY EMPLOYEE'S PART

Every point at which public funds are being expended becomes an important centre of educational influence, and every employee of the city has his or her part to play in the general enlightenment of the public.

To develop this individual responsibility of our men and women employees, a competition as to improvements brought about in our work was held late in the year 1914. The following

letter was sent to each member of the department explaining the object of the contest:

This department of ours has made a good record—I almost said a great record—during the last three years in serving the people of Philadelphia. In this work you individually, and the bureau with which you are connected, have had your share. I know that you have done good work. You know it. Now we want all the citizens of Philadelphia to know it.

As one means of getting publicity on what has been accomplished a prize competition in which every employee of the department can take a hand, has been arranged. The prizes go to the employee who suggests the best thing done in the department and by the department during these three years when we have all been working together for Philadelphia. Don't watch only the big things! To caulk a joint in a water main both quickly and so that it will hold, might save the City a whole lot of money. Don't study the other fellow's work for ideas. What have you done on your job that was never done before, or what are you doing better than it was ever done before? Get your thinking cap on, and help us show the City that the Department of Public Works is on the map.

Most of the illustrations used in our 1914 report resulted from this competition. Wherever possible, credit was given in this report to the employee making the suggestion.

A handsome silver cup was awarded to the Bureau of Surveys for presenting the largest number of practical suggestions of things accomplished. Suggestions and ideas entered were divided into two classes: Class "A"—photographs, drawings, blue prints, and diagrams with the privilege of adding an explanatory statement of not more than 150 words: Class "B"—suggestions and ideas which could be shown only by a descriptive article, with the privilege of submitting a sketch. The judges were Charles F. Jenkins, publisher of the *Farm Journal*, Richard R. H. Durbin, President of the Poor Richard Club, and E. R. Cox, a member of the State Legislature. Three prizes

were awarded in each class and the awards decided on the following basis:

20 points for neatness and comprehensiveness of presentation.
20 points for showing greatest progress.
20 points for appeal to the public.
20 points for originality of suggestion.
20 points for importance of suggestion in illustrating progress of department.

100

There were over two hundred separate entries made in the two classes. Pictures of all those to whom prizes were awarded were included in the 1914 report of the department. The second prize of class "A"—$15.00—was awarded to Joseph Herrman, a labourer in the Bureau of City Property, who submitted two photographs, the first showing a boy in a public square obtaining a drink from a running hydrant and the second showing a workingman refreshing himself at one of the new bubbler fountains.

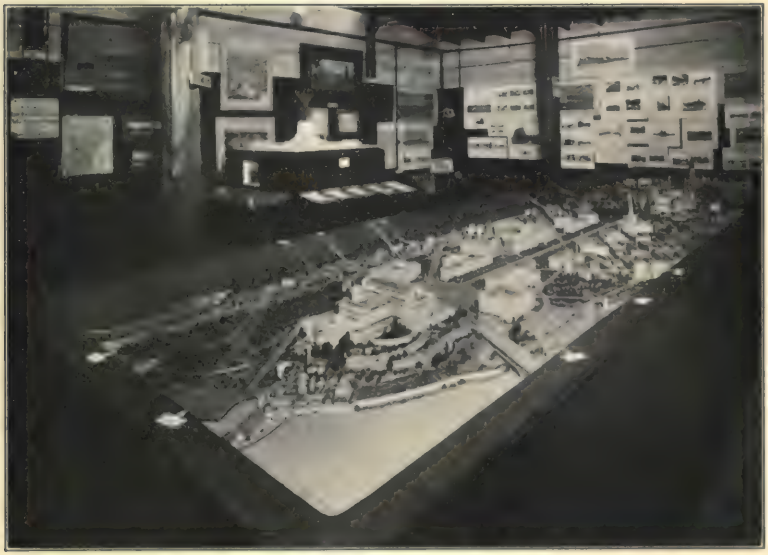
The winner of the first prize in Class "B" was Cleveland Dean of the Bureau of Highways, who submitted a comparison of the old and new methods of testing asphalt, shown elsewhere.

The range of the suggestions received in this competition is shown by the following poem received from Miss Eleanor Clifton to whom an Honourable Mention was given:

I fear I shall not stir the town nor yet arouse the nation
By booming the accomplishments of this administration;
While others strive for higher things to me it seems a pity
To overlook the advent of the Water Bureau kitty.

It brought its Mamma boundless joy, it gives the bureau pleasure,
And being black it means "good luck" in overflowing measure,
So as you reap the cash returns and I receive the mitten,
Remember that I sacrificed my art to praise the kitten.

Outside the Building



Models and Pictures of Future Plans

KNOW YOUR CITY BETTER EXHIBIT

HENRY L. DOHERTY

THOS. N. McCARTER

NICHOLAS F. BRADY

C. K. G. BILLINGS

PROMINENT OWNERS OF UTILITY SECURITIES

W. W. ATTERBURY
V. P. Pennsylvania Railroad

GEO. B. CORTELYOU
Pres. Consolidated Gas

CHAS. L. EDGAR
Boston Edison

JOHN W. LIEB
New York Edison

REPRESENTATIVE OPERATORS OF UTILITY PROPERTIES

FIGURES IN THE UTILITY WORLD

This particular kitten is the one photographed in the Director's Cup—the annual baseball trophy—shown in a previous chapter.

EXPERT SERVICE

Just as I have emphasized the necessity of expert service in municipal operations, so I insist that public officials should explain the necessity of that expert service in terms that the layman can understand. Dean H. S. Person, of Tuck School of Business Administration of Dartmouth College, agrees that "persistent word-of-one-syllable explanation of how and why expert assistance is to the public advantage is the essence of the method of educating the public."[1]

Our public of to-day wants "results," and it will stand for anything or anybody demonstrating the ability to get them. It has little patience with experimental work except as a preliminary to something else. There was introduced in our Philadelphia City Councils, an appropriation of $50,000 for an experimental test roadway, and the bill was defeated on the ground that I had stated that the man who was to spend the money was one of the best experts on bituminous road-work in the country. It was held that this statement and the appropriation were inconsistent—that either the engineer was less expert than I had claimed, or that we did not need an experimental test roadway. The title of the road in the appropriation bill was changed to read "service test roadway," and the bill was passed by a good majority.

The unwillingness of the public to stand for experimentation was brought vividly to our attention at the time of the Dayton disaster in 1913. Less than three months after a number of Dayton's citizens had contributed about $2,000,000 to insure the city against a repetition of that terrible calamity, signs of discontent arose because of the fact that there was no evidence

[1] 1914 Report American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Page 622.

of any work being done. It became necessary to get a publicity man on the job while the engineers were making the preliminary investigations. Publicity restored harmony at this point as well as at several later stages of the same work. The moral is that the public must be kept informed. When the city is doing work which is preliminary in its nature, that fact, and the conditions that make the fact necessary, must be explained to those who are footing the bills.

CLEAN–UP WEEK

Clean-up Week has now come to be the one big announcement of spring in many cities of the country. The success of this work, whose value as a prevention of disease and promoter of civic consciousness cannot be over-estimated, depends entirely upon the publicity methods employed. Our first attempt met with so much success that "Clean-Up Week" became a regular institution with us. The Mayor appointed his Clean-Up Week Committee in January. It consisted of one representative from each of the Bureaus of Highway and Street-cleaning, Health, and Fire. All the work of collection was done under the supervision of the Bureau of Highways and Street-cleaning. Committees from the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and others offered to coöperate after the city committee got to work. In 1914, we organized this outside help into a Citizens' Committee, numbering seventy-five men and including in its personnel leaders in the financial, educational, business, and religious life of the city. These men, with some sacrifice of their own affairs, gave enough of their personal attention to the campaign to assure its success.

The Citizens' Committee was divided into twelve sub-committees: finance, press, post and printed matter, trade associations, community associations, charitable and benevolent

An Appeal for "A CLEAN CITY"

"All Philadelphia Clean Up Week"

APRIL 28TH TO MAY 3RD, 1913

Will You Help Clean Up Your City?

APRIL 28TH TO MAY 3RD, 1913 HAS BEEN NAMED AS "ALL PHILADELPHIA CLEAN UP WEEK."

HANG OUT THE STARS AND STRIPES AND CITY COLORS AND PROCLAIM YOUR SPIRIT OF CO-OPERATION AND CIVIC PRIDE.

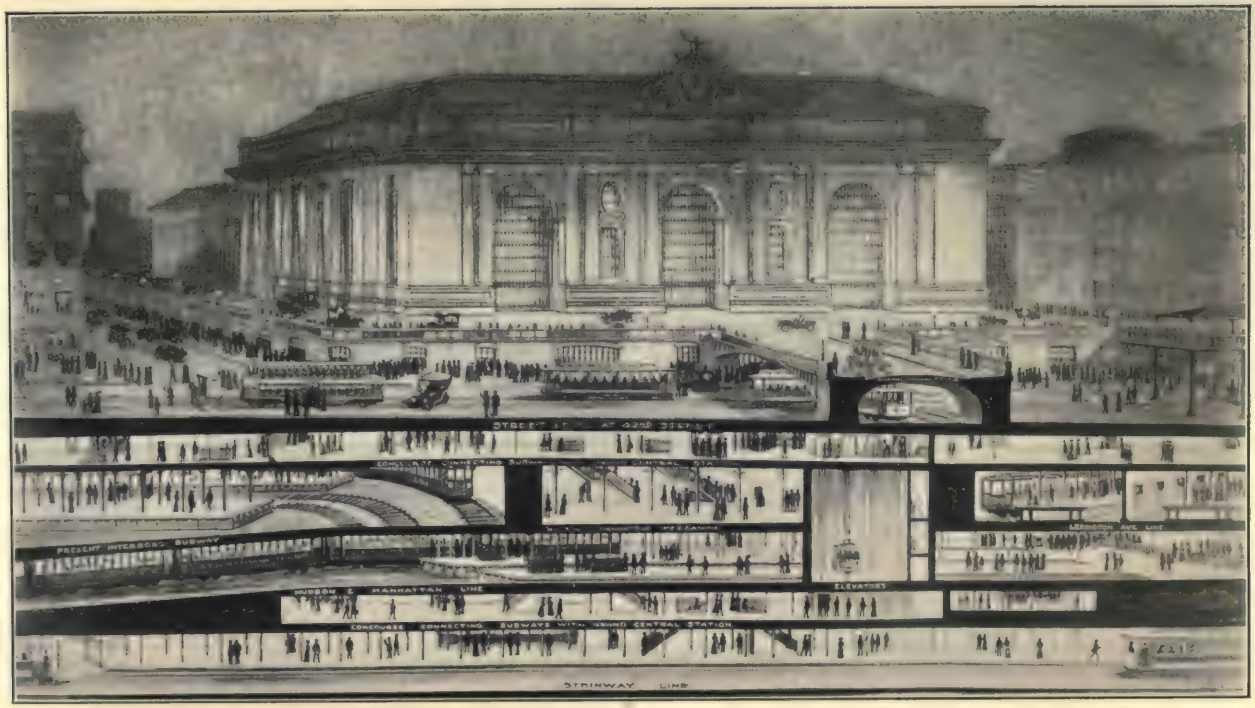
COVER FOR CLEAN-UP WEEK ANNOUNCEMENT

associations, schools and school children, churches, retail stores, street cars, vacant lots, and fire prevention. With the combination of an active city committee and an interested Citizens' Committee, organized for team work, success was assured. The campaign slogan: "CLEAN UP FOR A SPICK AND SPAN PHILADELPHIA," was seen everywhere. Trolley-car windows, billboards, newspapers, pamphlets, placards, and store windows. The citizen could not escape it. Even the manufacturers and retail merchants helped out with all forms of coöperative advertising. Automobiles and delivery wagons were equipped with muslin displays advertising the campaign.

The city's official message to the householder was a four-page bulletin containing a caricature, a little verse, and a word from the Mayor. It told the story briefly—what to do and how to do it. These pamphlets were distributed by the police to 260,000 householders. Twenty thousand window display cards, 14 by 15 inches, featuring William Penn on a background of the city colours, with the four words "SOAP—WATER—PAINT—POLISH," were prepared for the retail stores.

To convince the public that we were able to handle all their old rubbish as well as to promote the efficiency of the force, we preceded Clean-up Week with a big street-cleaning parade. It took two hours to pass and thrilled the town. We arranged to have moving pictures of the parade taken, and they were shown in many of the "movies" during the following week. The public was educated as to the size of its street-cleaning force. Even the men of the bureau had not realized that they were a part of such a large organization. The parade gave them a new sense of the importance of their work.

The hauling away of the rubbish which was offered the first few days gave sufficient publicity where other methods had failed. Small crowds watched wagon after wagon of undesirable junk leave for parts unknown. Those of little



UNDER 42ND STREET, N. Y. CITY

Seems a bit complicated as compared with a country road. A veritable human hive

CLEVELAND'S MUNICIPAL ELECTRIC PLANT
Sells current from one cent to three cents maximum per K. W.

AMERICANS ARE GREAT WATER WASTERS
This exhibit was held to educate Mr. Average Citizen as to various ways of saving water

faith were encouraged to look over their own garrets and cellars.

MOSQUITO CAMPAIGN

Another campaign into which we injected considerable publicity was that against the mosquitoes. Four-page pamphlets, largely given over to terse headlines and illustrations, were distributed in a systematic way.

Mosquito Bulletin No. 1 contained a map showing in red those sections of the city which had already been treated by the mosquito squad. Householders were urged to assist the department man when he came around to help find the breeding places. Community work was urged. One family is not so likely to suffer from the breeding place in their neighbour's back yard if all the houses in the neighbourhood are working under some form of local organization. At the end of the bulletins the citizen was asked to:—

REMEMBER THREE THINGS

THE MOSQUITO DEPRECIATES PROPERTY VALUES, CAUSES PHYSICAL SUFFERING TO HUMANITY, CARRIES DISEASE GERMS BROADCAST

Mosquito Bulletin No. 2 was "An Appeal to the Young People of Philadelphia." The value of the coöperation of the children of the city has long since become fully understood, although I still feel that the potential strength of this portion of our population is under-estimated. The young people's bulletin consisted of three pages besides the cover. There were eight illustrations, not counting the large mosquito on the front cover and the pool showing all stages of the mosquito development, on the back cover. The life and habits of the pests were explained in the simplest possible language and in large type. Each step was illustrated, from the "eggs

floating in water" to "the mosquito at work." The last page announced in large type that:—

Boy Scouts or other organizations of young people who will coöperate with the City in this campaign will be given every assistance by the Department officials.

SIGNS

Some people do not believe in signs, others are compelled to do so. To protect our city administration from the adverse comments of the road-using public, especially the automobilist, we had the sign shown on page 213 erected, at the beginning of a bad piece of road on Stenton Avenue, adjoining our territory. We found that at least one of our neighbouring townships had a conscience. About a half-mile of the road referred to on the signboard was immediately relaid. Our sign told the public that we were trying to do the right thing; told our neighbours to get busy; and brought forth a section of new road.

The signs in the large parks showed by illustrations, diagrams, and explanatory notes, the improvements that were being carried on. The Parkway sign, photograph of which is given herewith, was put up outside of Billy Sunday's tabernacle, where we were able to reach tens of thousands with time to read on their hands.

The usefulness of signs and signboards has only begun to be appreciated in the municipal service. I look forward to the time when an adequate sign, fully descriptive of the work, will be a part of every public contract. The various sections of the subway now in course of construction in Philadelphia are marked with signs telling the contract number and the concern doing the work. This helps, but it is a very feeble step. Every public building or structure of any kind should

be adequately marked to show what it is and what function it is supposed to fill in the whole scheme of the city. The wording of such signs must be not only suggestive but inviting.

Prohibitions of any kind on signs are worse than useless. As long as the sign: "Do not spit" hung in the corridors of the City Hall, we required cuspidors at every turn. Since it was altered to "Please help us to keep this corridor clean. Thank you," the cuspidors have disappeared. Gradually such signs as "Keep off" and "No crossing" are giving way to the single word "Please" with good effect.

The great success of our "Water-saving Show" led to many similar exhibitions which followed each other almost continuously throughout our administration. The first of these was a "Baby-Saving Show" held in a more or less permanent building erected by the Child Federation. The same building housed the exhibitions which followed. One of the most successful was the "Know Your City Better Exhibit" at which we had an average daily attendance of over five thousand. The "Weights and Measures Exhibit" was also a popular one. This building is now used each year as the headquarters of Clean-up Week. It is very advantageously located on account of the large number of people who pass through the City Hall Courtyard every day.

In a number of instances we used moving picture shows. In our mosquito extermination campaign we showed, night after night, slides giving the life history of the mosquito, and others illustrating the method of oiling ponds, draining lowlands, cleaning sewer inlets, etc. If we had important public meetings, or for any reason wanted to call public attention to any municipal undertaking, we had coloured slides prepared for the "movies" to use between reels.

We offered to send speakers to all kinds of civic organizations to talk on any subject of municipal interest. A city

of the size of Philadelphia should have a thoroughly organized lecture bureau with ample slide and reel equipment.

CONTRACTS

The fact that a city has valuable contracts to let is one of the greatest causes for political intrigue. The stuffing of the ballot box usually requires some elaborate planning. The stuffing of the contract box is a very simple matter when those who have charge of the box are in the game. The surest way to guard against crookedness in the awarding of contracts is full publicity at every step. When publicity eliminates crookedness it encourages honest bidders—men not on the inside—to compete for city work. As competition increases the city benefits in price and quality.

To encourage bidding we issued an eight-page pamphlet entitled "Information for Bidders." It was noted on the cover that the pamphlet was "intended to assist bidders, and the Department earnestly invites criticism on it or any subject bearing on departmental or bureau business." Information about contracts was given under the following heads:

General information
Advertising in Papers, etc.
Plans and Specifications
Proposal Bond
Guaranty, etc.
Scheduling of Bids
Awards
Execution
Charges by Department of Law
Acts and Ordinances

The technique of advertising need not stop here. The advertisement itself, announcing the desire for proposals, as it appears in the daily papers and elsewhere, is still in a very

THE STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT.
Harrisburg, Pa., invites sealed proposals for the purchase and delivery of material, machinery, implements and tools for maintenance and repair of State highways, in such quantities as may be ordered from time to time. Such proposals will be received at the office of the State Highway Department, Capitol Building, Harrisburg, Pa., until 10 o'clock A. M., April 20, 1915, when they will be opened and scheduled. It shall be an essential term of said proposals that the prices submitted therein shall remain in force from the date of such proposal to the close of the fiscal year ending May 31, 1916. Upon application being made to the State Highway Department at Harrisburg, Pa., bidding blanks will be furnished to prospective bidders, which must be returned by the bidder in a sealed envelope, marked, "Proposals for Furnishing Material, Machinery, Implements and Tools to the State Highway Department."
JOSEPH W. HUNTER, First Deputy State Highway Commissioner.

Department of Public Works

Sealed proposals will be received until 12 o'clock noon, on Tuesday, April 27, 1915, and opened at that time in Room 225, City Hall:

Grading Streets.
Paving Streets with Asphalt (assessment work).
Paving Streets with Vitrified Block (assessment work).
Paving Streets with Granite Blocks (assessment work).
Repaving Streets with Wood Blocks.
Repaving Streets with Granite Blocks.
Resurfacing Streets with Vitrified Blocks.
Furnishing and Delivering Crushed Trap Rock.
Painting Bridges.

Inquire at Room 232, City Hall.
M. L. COOKE, Director.

TWO STYLES OF CONTRACT ADVERTISEMENTS

crude state of development. Its chief aim seems to be to conceal its purpose and still comply with the law. We made an effort to take one step forward. The difference can be shown best by comparing the two advertisements shown herewith, that of the State Highway Department appeared in the Philadelphia *Record* within a few days of the appearance of our own advertisement and in the same paper.

The advertising columns of any American newspaper from Colonial times on contain Government advertisements very much on the order of the specimen shown on the left of the cut. No material change has been made in nearly two hundred years.

THE SMOKE NUISANCE

In his report to the Department of Public Safety for 1913,

John M. Lukens, Chief of the Bureau of Boiler Inspection said:

During the past the bureau has been able, through publicity, to awaken interest in the advantage to be gained by the abatement of the Smoke Nuisance, and to a realization of the economic value of such result to the community in general. Once having gained the support of the public, the campaign against the smoke evil was an assured success, as is evidenced by the fact the definite steps were taken in 207 plants to abate the nuisance.

It was pointed out in the publicity work on this subject that the Midvale Steel Company had tested a number of smoke-preventing devices and had settled upon a process which in place of simply dumping coal upon a fire, required that the coal be pulverized into a fine dust and then blown into the fire. "Each particle of this coal-dust is at once ignited, all the coal burns, and there is none left to escape into the air in the form of smoke and soot. The whole plant will soon be equipped with the device for using pulverized coal, which the company reports as effective and economical."

The public can understand when the explanation is made in the proper language. It has become too customary for groups of men in various professions and trades so to lumber their professional vocabulary with technical terms that their conversation sounds, to the man not on the inside, like a foreign language. For exactness of expression and understanding within the group, those terms may have some value. For public illumination they are useless.

ABOLITION OF GRADE CROSSINGS

When we wanted to put impetus into the elimination of grade crossings in Philadelphia, we got out a booklet on the subject. We described in some detail the dealings with the companies and the meaning to the public of the improve-

ments desired. There were also included numerous press comments, diagrams and ordinances. The booklet was thought necessary in spite of the fact that the railroad companies were, apparently, willing to take up the problem in a spirit of cöoperation. In connection even with plans that seem sure to be accomplished mishaps frequently occur. The public is usually the steadying force and therefore it always pays to keep the public acquainted with the facts. The progress made in the elimination of grade crossing subsequent to the issuance of that booklet justified its expense many times over.

PAMPHLET INFORMATION

Especially during the last year a number of pamphlets out of the ordinary run were issued for the benefit of the public. The following is a list of some of our publications:

"Business Methods in Municipal Works."	An informal record of the operations of the Department of Public Works of the City of Philadelphia, under the Administration of Mayor Blankenburg.
"The Political Assessment of Office Holders."	A report on the system as practiced by the Republican Organization in the City of Philadelphia. 1883–1913.
"A Study of Trolley Light Freight Service and Philadelphia Markets in their Bearing on the Cost of Farm Produce."	By Clyde L. King, Ph.D., Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania

"South Philadelphia."	Booklet above referred to describing the plan for the abolishment of grade crossings, the building of a belt line railway and the creation of opportunities for commercial and industrial developments in the section of the city south of Oregon Avenue.
"Report on Service Test Road—the Byberry and Bensalem Turnpike," and "Bulletin No. 1 on Service Test Road."	By William H. Connell, Chief of the Bureau of Highways.
"Information—Complaints" and "Municipal Complaint Post Card Book."	A small folder giving a list of all municipal employees to whom complaints should be addressed, together with a set of mailing cards on which to write such complaints.
"A Great Industrial Plant and Its Owners."	An illustrated pamphlet describing in detail the operations of the Philadelphia water works.
"A Study in Industrial Water Charges."	A pamphlet giving a compilation of all industrial plants in the city paying water rents in excess of $100, grouped both by classes of business and amounts paid.
"Mosquito Campaign" Bulletins No. 1 and No. 2.	Two descriptive folders giving directions for exterminating mosquitoes, written for those of different ages.
"Information for Bidders."	A statement for contractors and others showing the procedure followed in securing bids; awarding, executing, and carrying out contracts.

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LOS ANGELES (CAL.) PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

Copyrighted by the International Film Service, Inc.

MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

"Jim" McNichol
Philadelphia

"Rogie" Sullivan
Chicago

"Boss" Murphy
New York

"Abe" Reuf
San Francisco

SOME "BIG FELLOWS" OR CITY BOSSES

"Jimmy" Sheehan
Philadelphia

"Tim" O'Leary
Philadelphia

"Bath House John" Coughlin
Chicago

"Hinky Dink" McKenna
Chicago

SOME "LITTLE FELLOWS" OR WARD HANDY MEN

POLITICAL TYPES

"Philadelphia Expenditures Pictorially Shown."	An effort to show graphically the division of expenditures as between different municipal objects.
"Report of the Investigation into the League Island Park Contracts."	A report made by a board of three engineers—Messrs. Hazen, Humphreys, and Taylor—on the work of Edwin H. Vare on League Island Park.
"Standard Specifications for Printing Public Documents."	A report made by Joseph B. Smarr, formerly of the Director's Office, covering the methods used in contracting for the printing of the annual reports.
"The Relation of the Municipality to the Problem of Unemployment."	A study by Jos. H. Willitts, Instructor in Industry, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, into the causes of unemployment and the lines along which the city government may coöperate in minimizing it.

DESTRUCTIVE PUBLICITY

Reviewing *Plain Talk*, my 1914 annual report, the *Sunday Transcript*, a Philadelphia weekly newspaper, made the following suggestions in its issue of September 26, 1915:

The report does not dwell at any length upon the "Ha Haing" of "Cookie" in November last, when 85,000 men were walking the streets praying God and man for work. He does not laugh at them in the book as he did in the corridors of City Hall. He does not mention in his advertising booklet the fact that he declared that there was no money for public work at that time, nor does he deny that the Administration had to return, say, $20,000,000 to the City Treasury six or seven weeks after he hooted at the 85,000 unemployed men, 5,000 of whom might have been put to

work upon City improvements and who would have been put to work by any man with a semblance of humanity or "heart" in his make up. "Cookie" laughed.

He "Ha! Ha'd" at the miserables in the depths of starvation, and these sufferers are now awaiting the day when they can line up at the ballot box to show "Cookie" and his kind just what men think of them.

There happens to be not one scintilla of fact back of this particular quotation. The author of this book gave up a considerable part of his time and in many ways sacrificed his personal convenience—as did thousands of other people in the city of Philadelphia—in order to assist in mitigating the rigors of the widespread unemployment of the winter of 1914-15. As a matter of fact, we put on over 1,000 extra men in the Highway Bureau and kept the whole force at work during the entire winter, something that had never been done before. In addition to this, we provided work for hundreds of men sent to us by the Emergency Aid Employment Committee. As to the $20,000,000—there was not only no such sum returned to the City Treasury but there was not one single penny so returned to the City Treasury.

The quotation is inserted here of course not because of any news value but as an illustration of the kind of publicity that is used constantly by the enemies of good government. The *Sunday Transcript* might properly be described as a political dope sheet. It is one of a number of similar publications which we have in Philadelphia and which are directly and indirectly financed by political leaders. They are mailed out weekly and monthly to political workers in the 1,200 odd divisions of the City, and afford an easy means of distributing fact, gossip, and actual untruths which the political leaders want the division workers to have as a part of their canvassing equipment. This particular sheet is no better and no worse than a number of others published in Philadelphia and in other cities.

This kind of publicity is carried on day in and day out by the enemies of good government. Unfortunately, it is not all printed. Most of such material, which has an insidious and very serious and very definite influence on the electorate, is passed on by word of mouth. Does this not afford the strongest possible argument for widespread and intelligently conducted publicity on the part of the friends of good government? We can reprobate publications of this kind until the crack of doom, but they will go on. We can deprecate irresponsible and unfair criticism of public officials in the strongest terms, and yet the practice will be continued. The only way to neutralize them and finally to overcome such influence is by a campaign in which facts are given out with equal persistency. The electorate will thus gradually be educated to discriminate between fact and fiction.

So we must realize that publicity may be used for bad as well as for good purposes. But the publicity that will ultimately win is that based on facts. Truth is the first essential of the successful "ad" writer. The individual or clique who puts personal ambition and personal aggrandizement ahead of the public welfare may dupe the crowd for a time, but we still believe that you can't "fool all the people all the time." Honest and effective publicity is one of the best friends of good government.

"The first and most practical step in getting what one wants in the world is wanting it."—GERALD STANLEY LEE in "Crowds."

CHAPTER VIII

OUR UTILITIES AND THEIR OWNERS

THROUGHOUT this book we have emphasized the statement that two great streams of influence are incessantly operating on each of our cities individually as well as on the broad problem of municipal development. Of course by far the more important is the constructive one which includes such forces as education, science, and the civic spirit. Toward the upbuilding of all such agencies our best thought and energy must be given. For it is the greatest possible mistake in management to allow our forward-looking and forward-leading to be upset, or even to be unduly disturbed, by that great counter current that is set in motion and constantly accelerated by those who, through ignorance, do not know what makes for municipal well-being or by those who, knowing it, intentionally attempt to override it for the accomplishment of personal ends. At the same time no student of our subject can afford to ignore any force which is operating in this field counter to the public good. I have already mentioned politics, the juggling of contracts, the absence of expert service, and the lack of understanding of the problems of government on the part of the people, as among the causes which retard our progress. But more important than any of these in my opinion is the baneful influence constantly wielded, directly and indirectly, in almost every city in the land by the private utility interests through their support of the lowest type of political machinery and intrigue.

The city dweller is more directly dependent for his health, comfort, and prosperity upon the gas, telephone, water, street

Mechanical Tabulating

The Cost Department

COST KEEPING UP TO THE MINUTE

A TELEPHONE EXCHANGE

TESTING GAS LAMPS IN PLACE

railway, and other public-service corporations than he is upon the city proper. It is therefore of vital importance to every city dweller to inform himself on this utility situation.

Generally speaking, only those municipal undertakings which can be operated at a profit are put under the head of public services or are known as utilities. There is a grim sort of humour in the fact that they are only activities of a city concerning the ownership and operation of which there is any discussion.

The value of these so-called municipal utilities in the United States is about as follows:

Privately Owned	
Electric Light & Power Companies	$ 2,000,000,000.00
Artificial Gas Companies	1,350,000,000.00
Street and Interurban Railway Companies	5,000,000,000.00
Telephone Companies	1,330,000,000.00
Total	$ 9,680,000,000.00
Municipally Owned	
Cities over 30,000 population	$ 1,250,000,000.00
Cities under 30,000 population	150,000,000.00
Total	$ 1,400,000,000.00
Grand Total[1]	$11,080,000,000.00

While this total is somewhat less than that assigned to the steam railroads of the country it is still a sum which represents upward of one tenth of the total of our national wealth. It is thus seen to be an influence which has tremendous power for good or for evil.

The basic fact underlying any discussion of municipal utilities is the essential solidarity of the private interests which

[1]Chaos exists as to the methods to be used in appraising these properties. These figures must therefore be looked upon as the barest approximations. That they have some relative value is about all that can be claimed.

control them. Of this uniformity of method and mutuality of purpose a part may be legitimate and may lead to efficiency. Much of it, however, is short-sighted, non-dividend-producing, and anti-social. Not a little of it is clearly against existing statutes. In all this planning the security floater is in supreme authority. The engineer, the scientist, and the administrator all take their orders from the investment bankers.

CONTROL THROUGH "COURTESY"

This alliance of those who control—even if they do not own—these properties is brought about through a widespread, unwritten, and sometimes unrecognized system of exchange of "courtesies" rather than through definite business associations of types either warranted or prohibited by law. Many of the agencies through which this control is made effective do not recognize themselves as cogs in a well-nigh invincible system. What we shall call "courtesy" for the lack of a better name has become such a preponderant factor in the utility situation that if it could be brought about that all the laws were scrupulously obeyed the present status would remain practically unaltered.

The utility problem, through its bearing on crooked politics and bad government, has become almost the crux of the municipal situation and, as such, its solution is, in one sense, the key to national prosperity. This chapter is intended as a statement of conditions as we who have represented the cities see them, together with certain suggestions as to the lines along which I believe progress can and will be made. Undoubtedly the foundations on which this great utility structure rests are slipping and the cords which have bound us as a people to inefficiency and venality are snapping.

During the years, while I was Director of Public Works, and since then in my capacity as Acting Director of the national Utilities Bureau, it has been my duty to study the ramifications

of these interests and the destinations toward which they are steering. While I was in the Philadelphia City Hall my position brought me into definite business relations with over a score of public-service companies. With each of at least a half dozen of these companies the Administration of which I was a part negotiated contracts running into the millions. In two of these contracts the expenditure of a great many million dollars was involved.

Every manager of a utility in this country to-day recognizes that he is engaged in a titanic struggle. I sometimes think that the utilities really overestimate the fighting qualities of the opposition and underestimate their own. In the discussions of these matters carried on by those representing the cities terms such as "fight," "battle," "warfare," are on every page. For my own part I like to feel that we are entered upon a vitally important educational campaign, as the issues are for the most part far too inaccessible and involved to yield to brute force. Here and there we find marauding companies and individuals who must be beaten into line or crushed. But generally we find utility companies marching shoulder to shoulder in one army and under one banner—guided and actuated by the same set of principles. This is too big an army to crush.

If we have good reason for speaking without venom and by the facts, we have equally strong incentive for speaking fearlessly. If, as I believe, we are confronted with the gravest dangers in this utility field, the more we know of utility corporations the less likely are they to become malignant. Anything like a complete victory for either side in this matter means to the one side wholesale destruction through public ownership, of certain kinds of paper values and to the other new and heavy public duties. The present-day managers and owners of a property actually worth hardly $25,000,000 but with outstanding securities of over $50,000,000 are in an exceedingly embarrassing position. They want more than

sympathy; they want help. Again a group of men, who in the late nineties boastfully referred to themselves as "robber barons" and acted the part, are only to be pitied as they are forced to submit their every act to the decrees of public-service commissions. It does those of us who are looking at it from the cities' side no harm to see the problem through the utility man's difficulties. And let us freely admit that he has them.

METHOD OF FINANCING

We should understand the way in which the so-called "water" has been introduced into the securities of these companies. At the beginning of the process stands a banker who, having purchased all or practically all of the stock of a locally owned property, proceeds to introduce better methods of management and to improve and extend the equipment, accepting for the money advanced for such purposes whatever security the company is able to issue.[1]

As soon as the earnings of the company reflect these improved conditions, or results are sufficiently assured to warrant an adequate engineering report, a plan of reorganization is devised. A company is formed to take over one or more smaller companies. This company usually authorizes enough bonds to provide for the refunding of all the mortgage indebtedness of the companies consolidated and to pay back to the

[1]A case which comes to my mind is that of a large eastern gas company. Some local parties got a large majority of this stock together in a pot. A firm of lawyers undertook to dispose of this stock at an advance in price because of its representing so nearly the full ownership of the company as to make it susceptible of manipulation. The sale was negotiated to a firm of investment bankers in New York at a price considerably over what it had been bought at in small lots on the open market. The lawyers received $25,000 for their services. The new owners then sold it "bag and baggage" just as they got it to a prominent Wall Street banking house for $500,000 more than the purchase price. The new owners gave the company a pat and a smack, reorganized it and sold enough bonds to pay them back all they had put into it and something besides. How many more stories have been added to the house since then I do not happen to know.

banker the money expended by him, in the purchase of the stock of these companies and also in the improvements made and sometimes a cash profit besides. But this is not usual. Very often they do not get back all of the money put out.

Preferred and common stocks are issued in amounts according to the particular plan. The preferred stock is generally sold, as soon as the earnings make this possible, for cash, which is either profit or to a considerable extent profit, and the common stock—representing the control of the company and its prospects—has an immediate material value on account of this. Very often, a considerable part of the preferred has to be used for "greasing the wheels." Up to this point, with slight variations, the process is as old as the modern corporation.

It is by the next step—the formation of the holding company—that the princes of modern finance extend their kingdoms. As a device for the injection of water the efficiency of the holding company compares with the high finance which preceded it as a high pressure fire main does to a garden hose. Thus a banker having the stock of several companies, the aggregate of which produces a considerable sum in dividends, forms what is known as a holding company and he turns the stock which he holds into his company for what is known as collateral trust bonds, and preferred and common stock. He sells the bonds, thereby getting cash for the stock which he turned into the company, without losing control of the individual company. There are a number of instances where several small holding companies have been turned into one large holding company. The end is not yet.

The only serious defence I have ever heard made of this method of financing is based upon a belief in the absolutism of private property, for certain it is that the capitalization of a company under this method of financing has no relation whatever to values.

Of the eight billion dollars or more of capital and "near"

capital—employed in electric, gas, street, and interurban railway companies, over five and a half billions are controlled by holding companies and their subsidiary companies. Holding companies control 76 per cent. of the two billions of capital invested in electric light and power companies; two thirds of the one and one third billions in artificial gas companies, and two thirds of the five billions of capital in street and interurban railway companies.[1]

The National Electric Light Association's *Bulletin* states that "of the 6,129 towns and cities with a population of 46,000,000 receiving electric service, 2,691 with a population of 36,400,000 are served by 140 holding companies."

A serious obstacle in the way of a settlement fair to both sides is the deep conviction entertained by the most powerful bankers that a widespread programme of municipal ownership and municipal operation is more or less imminent in this country. They spend much energy and revenue to prove that such a policy would be ill-advised and that the drift is in the opposite direction. But actually and secretly policies are based upon an expectation that most of these properties will be taken over by the people during the coming generation. The present high rates for service without adequate funds for depreciation or maintenance would not be "good business" if these properties were to be continued in private ownership. I have been told by those high in the banking world that the intention is to make these plants yield every possible penny in revenue against the day when the ownership will change.

VALUE OF UTILITIES

The value of the property engaged in the so-called "public service" in any large city is usually in excess of that used for

[1]Brief submitted on behalf of Public Utility Holding Companies to the Interstate Commerce Committee of the United States Senate since when there has been a rapid extension of holding companies.

all other public purposes. In other words, the utility end is the big end. It is impossible to make any exact statement in this matter on account of the desperately obscure and complicated financial organization and statements of the companies controlling the various utilities.

Even so, the following table listing the value of (1) the several utility properties and (2) all other public property in Philadelphia gives some picture of their relative financial importance and a rough idea of the place occupied by the utilities in the whole scheme of a city. No claims are made for the individual figures used and no reference is made to the steam railroad factor.

PHILADELPHIA UTILITIES	PAPER VALUE OR VALUE MEASURED BY SECURITIES	AN ESTIMATE OF ACTUAL VALUE OF PROPERTY
Street Railways	$200,000,000	$100,000,000
Electric Company[1]	50,000,000	30,000,000
Bell Telephone[2]	20,000,000	10,000,000
Keystone Telephone[3]	9,000,000	6,000,000
City Water Works[4]	65,000,000	65,000,000
Northern Liberties Gas Works	750,000	500,000
Philadelphia Gas Works (U.G.I. lessee)[5]	45,000,000	35,000,000
Gasoline Street Lighting	250,000	200,000
Miscellaneous: Burglar Alarm, Message, Telegraph, etc., Garbage	1,000,000	500,000
	$391,000,000	$247,200,000

[1]Testimony before Penn. Public Service Commission in Cooke et al against Phila. Electric Co.

[2]Testimony before P.S.C. of Pa. and exhibits incident thereto as interpreted by counsel representing the public interest.

[3]Statement furnished by Company.

[4]Estimate made by officials Bureau of Water.

[5]Annual Report Chief Bureau of Gas, 1914.

ALL OTHER PUBLIC PROPERTY IN PHILADELPHIA AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1913.[1]

Land	$ 32,771,878.62
Buildings	57,444,526.95
Piers, Wharves, etc	2,330,742.70
School Property	25,600,000.00
Miscellaneous Structures, Grade Crossing Removals, etc.	12,395,775.54
Streets, Boulevards, etc.	56,500,000.00
Bridges	17,200,000.00
Sewers	35,401,247.06
Equipment	7,224,837.57
	$246,869,008.44

A somewhat similar table prepared by Ray Palmer, while Commissioner of Gas and Electricity, Chicago, gives the security value of Chicago's utilities as $589,000,000 and their property value as $264,000,000.

Considering that there is over eleven billions of dollars invested in utilities, it is plain that the game is one for giants. The reins, for the most part, however, are in the hands of those who do not understand the times. It requires some broad comprehension of human currents to make effective such concepts as the holding company and nation-wide control. When the world is talking publicity and efficiency, to continue to lean on bribery, undue influence, intimidation, fallacious propaganda and the secret agreement, is suicidal.

An illustration of how careless public-utility officials become when they are left to themselves is afforded by the Northern Liberties Gas Company of Philadelphia, now owned and controlled by the United Gas Improvement Company. The charter of this Company provides that the City should always have one half of the board of directors. These "representatives of the City" have been regularly appointed, and just

[1]Annual Report Controller of City of Philadelphia, 1913

as regularly their reports have been published in the Journals of Council. A typical "Annual report" follows:

APPENDIX NO. 18 OF THE SELECT COUNCIL
OFFICE OF NORTHERN LIBERTIES GAS COMPANY

Philadelphia, January 25, 1915.

CHIEF CLERK OF SELECT COUNCIL,
City of Philadelphia.

DEAR SIR:

Enclosed find annual report of the Northern Liberties Gas Company. Kindly acknowledge receipt of same.

Yours truly,
GEORGE E. SCHAUT,
Treasurer.

OFFICE OF NORTHERN LIBERTIES GAS COMPANY

Philadelphia, January 25, 1915.

TO THE SELECT AND COMMON COUNCILS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA:

The Trustees of the Northern Liberties Gas Company herewith present a statement of the receipts and expenditures during the year 1914, together with the previous outlay of capital:

RECEIPTS

From sales of gas. (At $1.00 M.)	$176,589.53	
From sundry sales and miscellaneous items	63,806.53	$240,396.06

EXPENDITURES

For works	$390,813.95	
For services	92,181.13	
For meters	121,404.48	
For mains	119,319.34	
For real estate	30,447.99	
For wages, taxes, repairs, etc. . .	97,569.39	
For coal on hand at commencement and received during the year . .	46,852.34	$898,584.62

Respectfully submitted,
GEORGE E. SCHAUT,
Treasurer.

Think of it! Is there any wonder that our people seek relief through public ownership?

Let us see how this "courtesy," about which I spoke, works in actual practice. Some years ago the Keystone Telephone Company—a competitor of the Bell—secured a franchise to lay conduits under the streets of Philadelphia. While laying the conduits needed to accommodate its telephone wires, the management laid hundreds of miles of extra ducts for the purpose of selling or renting them at some future time either to the Philadelphia Electric Company or to some competing electric company. The value of these conduits, which had now lain idle for over eight years, was estimated at from four to six million dollars.

Philadelphia and the utility world generally has known about the availability of these ducts. It has been understood by utility men that a company acquiring their use and getting current either by purchase or by building a plant of its own could sell electric current in Philadelphia both for public and private use at rates not only below—but far below—those charged by the Philadelphia Electric Company. Notwithstanding the assured and generally admitted success of any scheme to utilize these ducts, and simply out of "courtesy" to the Philadelphia Electric Company, no one in responsible position has made a move during the eight years since they were built to bring them into use.[1] The potent leaders in the utility camp have declared in favour of one electric company, or one gas company, or one telephone company to a city, and woe betide the individual or concern who moves for a competing plant or for the invasion of territory.

[1]These conduits have since been leased to the Philadelphia Electric Company for 35 years at a minimum annual rental of $100,000 with option to purchase. There were special reasons operating to make it advisable for the P. E. Co. to take them over. The lease, however, while at first disapproved by the Public Service Commission was, after a second hearing, approved.

NATIONAL UTILITY ORGANIZATIONS

Such dicta as that forbidding competition, for instance, are made effective by various national organizations which force compliance with standards and business practices imposed from the top. A typical organization of this kind is the National Electric Light Association which has headquarters in the Engineering Societies Building in New York. To the uninformed it undoubtedly has the standing of a scientific and technical society. In order to build up a position as a technical society this association formerly gave out technical information as do other national engineering and scientific societies. This has been prohibited because the members do not want this information to fall into the hands of possible business rivals, and more especially into the hands of public-service commissions and others investigating their methods.

Notwithstanding that it has a membership of over twelve thousand, no one can join the National Electric Light Association who does not work for a company already belonging to it. Since they do not usually allow competing companies to join, no individual employee of a competing electric company can be a member. Hence, for instance, employees of the Commonwealth Power Company of Milwaukee—a company doing a business of $400,000 annually until it changed hands recently—were barred from membership in what is supposed to be the representative organization of the industry, because this company competed with the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company. The significance of such social and professional pressure can hardly be overestimated.

The Tax Commissioner of New York City has recently established the commercial and non-professional character

of this organization by levying a tax against that part of the Engineering Societies Building which it occupies.

In 1913 the Rate Research Committee of the National Electric Light Association announced its theory of rates based on the "value of the service" which of course is nothing more than a new rendition of "all the traffic will bear." Notwithstanding a vociferous beating of the tom-toms, there were no large number of converts to the doctrine, outside of the interested members. Cost plus a fair profit is as good a rule in this field as in any other. Again, a year or two ago the American Electric Railway Association gave forth a "Code of Principles" which advocated, among other things, fair returns on capitalization no matter how extravagantly watered, exclusive state control of the local utilities and the holding company. The same report advocated the creation of a financed bureau of public relations which is to have among its various functions that of

> Influencing the sources of public education particularly by (a) lectures on the Chautauqua circuit and (b) formation of a committee of prominent technical educators to promote the formulation and teaching of correct principles on public-service questions in technical and economic departments at American colleges, through courses of lectures and otherwise.

The trend of reaction must have seemed very strong to have warranted such a pronunciamento.

That efforts have already been made "to influence the sources of public education" is shown by such a course of lectures as those given a few years ago under the auspices of the so-called Finance Forum of the West Side Young Men's Christian Association in New York City where every speaker was the employee of a privately owned and privately operated utility, or allied activity, as shown by this schedule:

Magnitude of the Electric Light, Power, and Transportation Business.
Address by T. Commerford Martin, of the New York Edison Company and Secretary National Electric Light Association.

The Public, The Investor, and The Holding Company.
Address by Francis T. Homer, Counsel, Bertron, Griscom & Co., investment bankers, New York City.

Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities.
Address by Arthur Williams of the New York Edison Company and Past President National Electric Light Association.

Progress of the Science of Lighting.
Address by Dr. Edward P. Hyde, Director of the National Electric Light Association (Nela), Research Laboratory of the National Lamp Works of the General Electric Company.

Telephones at Home and Abroad.
Address by T. P. Sylvan, of the New York Telephone Company.

Future of Public Utilities.
Address by Thomas N. McCarter, President Public Service Company of New Jersey.

Centralization of Power Supply.
Address by Samuel Insull, President of the Chicago Edison Company.

Investments in Public Utilities and How Held.
Address by W. H. Gardiner, of Henry L. Doherty and Company, investment bankers, of New York City.

Future Regulation of Public Utilities.
Address by William D. Kerr, of the Bureau of Public Service Economics.

Some Legal Aspects of Regulations of Public Service Corporations.
Address by Charles F. Mathewson, associate of Elihu Root, of counsel, Consolidated Gas Company, New York City.

From the way in which this list of speakers was made up one would never imagine that the subjects covered are fiercely controversial.

That these lectures as given were considered wholly "safe" is shown by the fact that they were all published in pamphlet form and distributed free of charge by a Wall Street investment banking house of wide reputation.

This attempt to influence education at its source is going steadily forward. The "planting" of professors—especially of electrical engineering; the arrangement of courses of lectures on securities, the disciplining of economists and others who protest the views held by this variety of big business are only some of the methods which have been adopted.

Any citizen can test this out in the educational institution best known to him by simply ascertaining: (1) the "privileges" extended by the university authorities to those technical engineers who have "outside" employment with utility interest and the discriminatory policies adopted by the same institution toward any member of its teaching staff who assumes to aid the *public* by advice or who has views known to be contrary to the "accepted" principles of utility investment bankers. To name the economists who have been of assistance to the public in rate controversies is to name men who are discriminated against by their own institutions. Any one desirous of learning the truth can check up the interlocking directorates of such universities as Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania, and it is in such institutions that the "privileges" to the one group and discriminations as to the other are perhaps most noticeable. But this work is for the most part so crude and so generally recognized as such by the public that it is likely in the long run to have just the opposite effect from the one intended.

An up-to-date illustration of the unity of interest which I have called "courtesy" is afforded by an editorial in the

February, 1915, issue of *Aera*, the official organ of the American Electric Railway Association: in commenting upon one of the mid-year meetings of that Association.

Another phase of this meeting at Washington, which is highly important as a prognostication of future strength and power in the battle which the industry is to wage, was the evidence manifested in many ways that the manufacturing interests connected with the industry are prepared to coöperate with the railway men in the work that lies ahead.

When Mr. Pierce, speaking for the Manufacturers' Association, pledged the support of its members, it was evident to those who had felt the pulse of the delegates that he was giving utterance to no idle and complimentary rhetorical figure, but was voicing a sentiment manifested in many ways.

The Washington meeting was an inspiration. It has sent back to their work some hundreds of men imbued with the idea that at last a concrete practical plan has been presented for improving public relations and resolved to do their share in this important task. Unity, solidarity, enthusiasm, these three things are the returns from this Mid-Year meeting and in addition the American public has been notified that this Association in the words of President Allen has at last found a voice.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS

In considering the weight which attaches to this factor of "courtesy," we should acquaint ourselves with its extent. In New York you will find the Electric Bond and Share Company acting as the banking end of the General Electric Company. Its capital is unusually small compared with the magnitude of its operations. In Berlin we find a similar $50,000,000 corporation for the construction and operation of electric properties. This company controlled by the same interests that control the Deutsche Bank had before the war properties almost everywhere except in the United States. If asked "Why?" the answer would probably be: "Too deep in the business of owning and managing electrical properties

for it to be wise for us to go into any undertaking involving opposition to the established interests in the same field," and "Do not wish to risk antagonizing similar interests to our own in America." The civilized world had been parcelled out and "courtesy" has become international.

The dominant interests in each nation in each special line are of one mind and have great respect for each other. These large international companies or syndicates are making impossible such competition in finance and manufacturing as we find in other fields. It is generally recognized that it is now absolutely impossible to secure capital for a municipal or competitive utility proposition through regular channels. No matter how good such a utility prospect may be, it cannot be financed in this country to-day if it must be done through bankers.

From a business standpoint, the situation with regard to buying equipment for a competitive plant, especially in the electrical field, while not so generally understood by the public, is almost as tight. If either of the large electric supply companies (Westinghouse and General Electric) can find an excuse for not bidding they will use it. If there is no such excuse they will bid for one of two reasons—either because they see that the end has come and that somebody is going to get the business, or because somebody might go to jail if they did not bid. When Mayor of Cleveland, Secretary of War Baker, before buying the equipment for the new Cleveland Municipal Electric Plant, announced that if there were no bids from the responsible manufacturers he would at once take up the matter with Congress by requesting that the tariff duty be thrown off foreign machinery for municipal enterprises. He got his machinery.

But the private corporations have brought about a combination in this field which is too tight to be permanent. In order to perpetuate such absolute control it has been necessary

CHRISTMAS IN THE SHOPPING DISTRICT
Decorating the street lamps with pine boughs at Fresno, Cal.

EAST 23RD STREET

Allen Street

NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC BATHS

to introduce into these companies a German military system of discipline which is more and more resented by the great majority of the employees. In our Philadelphia companies public discussion of utility policies and methods is confined usually to one executive head and information is practically never given out except through this one source. As a rule, the real authority and responsibility in these companies is at the top, and the top is usually located in far-away New York. Young men of ability and character are hesitating more and more to ally themselves with interests which almost necessarily place them in opposition to the trend of the times and to the best interests of the State.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

The drift toward municipal ownership and operation in all parts of the country is unmistakable. From present indications the change from private to public ownership in utilities will come more rapidly than either the public or the companies themselves realize. Apparently the principle of state regulation, as it is at present understood and practised, is doomed. The louder the companies shout for it the less of a panacea it seems. Through all the agitation for the three methods of (1) state, (2) local regulation, and (3) municipal operation there runs an insistent demand for efficiency and the widest possible publicity both as to costs and principles of management.

Before the Conference of American Mayors held in Philadelphia in 1915, Clarke M. Rosecrantz, general counsel of the Milwaukee Electric Light and Railway Company, said:[1]

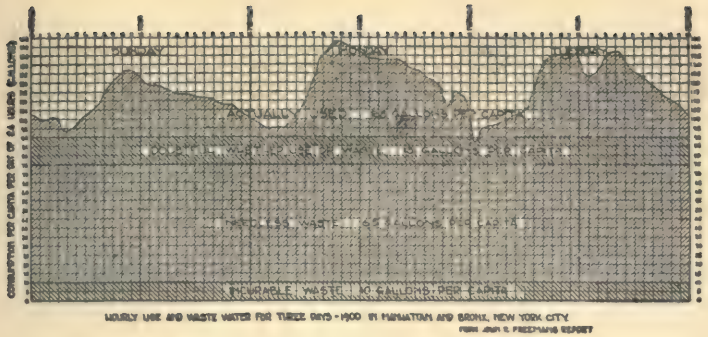
If the members of this conference really desire to save the public money, I think their attention should first be directed toward se-

[1] "Public Policies as to Municipal Utilities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1915, p. 270.

curing an efficient and economical management of the affairs which properly belong to the municipality. There is plenty of opportunity in that field and when it can be shown that those affairs are efficiently and economically conducted it will be time enough to consider taking on the burden of operating public utilities.

Mr. Rosecrantz has put his finger on the only real argument that can be brought against municipal ownership. It is undesirable that our cities take on anything more, at this time, simply because we have our hands full in learning the possibilities of municipal government. The demands for the expenditure of money and talent in the other parts of the municipal field are so insistent and widespread that it would probably be for the best interest of our municipalities if municipal operation could be postponed for a while. But unless the attitude of the private companies changes materially within the course of the next few years the people will probably decide that the present and obvious disadvantages of public operation are inconsiderable as compared with the burden which the system of private ownership places upon us. If present tendencies are continued private companies will be taken over in about the following order: first water, then electric and gas plants, and lastly street railways.

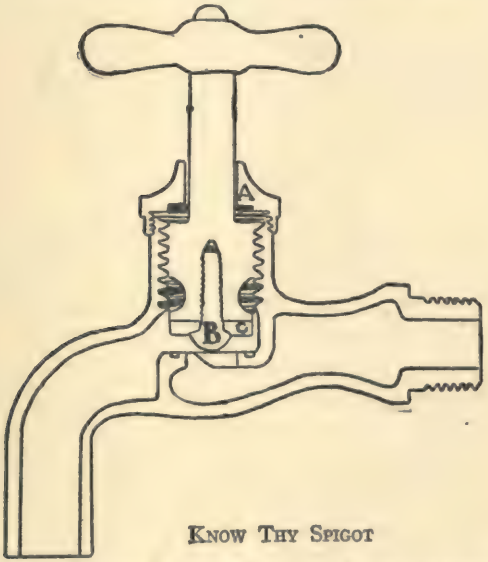
We should not be opposed to municipal ownership for the foolish reason that it has been tried elsewhere and found a failure. For such is not the fact; and most of those who utter the statement know that it is not true. Nor should we be opposed to it on the ground that an American city is unable to operate a utility efficiently and economically. We both own and operate our water works in Philadelphia. We supply as good water and distribute it as efficiently as any water works in the United States operating under similar conditions.



HOURLY USE AND WASTE WATER FOR THREE DAYS - HOD BY MANHATTAN AND BRONX, NEW YORK CITY

USE OF WATER IN NEW YORK

Also the heavy use of water on Monday.
Note the needless waste of 165 gallons per capita.



KNOW THY SPIGOT

The checking of water waste is largely a matter of stopping many little leaks.

Instructions how to replace a worn-out washer: 1st. Shut off water in cellar. 2d. Remove nut "A". 3d. Remove screw "B". 4th. Insert washer "C". 5th. Replace tightly screw "B". 6th. Replace nut "A" (not too tightly). 7th. Turn on water in cellar.

Our rates are far below those charged by any private water company. Where private companies furnish good service and fair rates, give them protection, a free field, and a square deal. If they fail in these essentials, however, any self-respecting city will call the bluff by insisting on public ownership and public operation.

STATE REGULATION

State regulation certainly has much to recommend it, especially as to accounting, issuance of securities, etc. But it is weak in the matter of rate fixing because scientific rate regulation is based on the assumption that the operation of municipal utilities has reached a stage that permits of a scientific and exact treatment; and such is not the case. There are relatively few accepted standards in this field and almost nothing of cost keeping or a real equivalent. Thumb rule and personal opinion everywhere abound and, what is even more regrettable, the several utility industries are to a very large extent operated on false assumptions made necessary for the protection of fictitious values. The public is asked to look upon the deliberations of public-service commissions as scientific and exact while "insiders" know that state regulation, even under the most favourable circumstances, is still very largely by a hit-or-miss method.

We have been rushed into this era of state regulation with such rapidity that it is impossible for any commission to more than scratch the surface of the field that has been assigned to it. In the rate case of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce against the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania, which was before the Pennsylvania State Service Commission, for over three years the company is said to have spent upward of $250,000 in laying before the Commission a mass of undigested material. In almost every rate case the effort seems to

A REAL GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL
William Penn pupils singing, cooking, and eating

RECEIVING THE KEYS OF FRESNO (CAL.)
Miss Anita King the Raisin Girl, also the Movie Actress, gets some recognition

THE CORN BOYS
Some of them can beat their daddies in the yield per acre

HIGH PRESSURE PUMPING STATION
Any closely built up manufacturing district should be equipped with high-pressure fire protection

be to raise as many issues as possible without regard to whether they are pertinent or not.

Another important reason why confidence in state regulation seems to be on the wane is that many of the laws creating public-service commissions have been drafted with a view to giving an unfair advantage to the private companies. The Pennsylvania law is an example. The original act was drawn by a committee of citizens who had made a special study of the principles of state regulation as practised in other parts of the country. As finally passed the act was thoroughly emasculated. An examination of the texture of the paper upon which the several amendments were written and the style of typewriting used showed that everyone of the amendments made in this bill was drawn up by two very influential Pennsylvania public-service companies.

The agitation for the state-wide public service company laws was carried on in the various states by the companies and conducted from New York City.[1] An examination of these state-wide laws will usually reveal four features showing their common origin and accounting for their popularity with utility companies. These four provisions are: (1) certificates of convenience and necessity are required for one company to extend its lines into the territories of another; (2) the monopoly of each utility company to its geographical zone is legally recognized; (3) there can be no competition by publicly owned or publicly operated plants save by the outright purchase of the utility to be replaced at a value fixed by the state public service commission; (4) the power to enter upon and use the streets and highways flows from the states and not from the cities or other local governmental units.

The first result of these four provisions of the law is to give to each company a zone monopoly of the territory it chanced

[1] The exceptions to this rule were the movements for the state-wide commissions in Wisconsin and New York in 1907.

to occupy at the time the law was passed. Had these laws been heralded as being what they were—zone monopoly laws—the public interest in them might have been different. The cities, by the fourth provision of the law above mentioned, can at the most but enforce reasonable police regulations as to the use of their streets. They cannot deny access to their streets save on franchise terms acceptable to the city as had been the rule previously. The zone monopoly is thus made doubly sure as the right to it flows from the state and not from the city. By prohibiting public ownership, save through purchase of the private plant at a valuation fixed by a state commission, the "value" of the utility plant with the zone monopoly is forever assured to its owner and this value is "condemnation" value which is higher than "rate-base" value.

And finally comes the capstone of this structure of privilege. Since companies cannot enter into each other's territories save by the consent of the state commission, they have but to divide up the states to suit the profits of the centralized banking world that owns them through large holding companies. Thus the United States is now as effectively divided up into recognized "zones of influence" as ever China was in the mind of the most grasping European diplomat. And no wars can threaten the inviolability of these "spheres of influence." What on the surface seems to be a fair recognition of the principle of non-duplication of service becomes—when examined in the light of other features of the law—an astute movement toward retaining all the advantages of the *status quo ante* with such additional advantages of "consolidation of territory" such as later manœuvres may capture. In its ruthlessness Pan-Germanism is mild in its ambitions and methods when compared with the stealth and the legal and political astuteness used by the centralized utility interests in this country in their lust to hold fast their dominion over American cities.

The provisions of the national constitution forbidding the taking of property without "due process of law" give the companies a great advantage over the cities in litigation before commissions because they properly prevent confiscation. If confiscation itself, or litigation charging confiscation, is to be avoided, the commissions must necessarily leave an ample margin over and above cost plus a fair profit in the fixing of rates. This is an inherent disadvantage on the cities' side of any such discussion. While it has properly been easy for the companies to invoke the basic law to prevent the imposition of rates unfair to the company, the cities have had very little success in the last generation in invoking the common law in preventing the companies from charging rates unfair to the cities and from otherwise imposing upon them.

CONTROL OF ENGINEERING

The work that comes before public-service commissions is very largely engineering and yet there are almost no engineers on the commissions. Possibly this condition of affairs is due to the too-close affiliations of the great majority of engineers with the corporation side of the questions to be discussed. Such a condition is to be regretted; but it cannot be remedied by ignoring or denying it. If the organization representing an entire profession has been so diverted that the search after truth is no longer its guiding star, surely it is well to recognize that fact and take the necessary steps for the correction of this condition. There is a reason why the great majority of the appointees to these commissions are lawyers. Surely the public does not love a lawyer any better than an engineer—perhaps not quite so much. There is a feeling, however, that a lawyer can see two sides to a question, and may be successful in maintaining either of them.

A large number of the appointments to these commissions

are made for political considerations and without regard to technical fitness. Experience is proving that even where good men are developed they do not remain permanently on the commission.[1] In this a public-service commissionship seems to differ from a seat on the bench. A commissionship in too many states has come to be looked upon as a stepping stone to a higher political preferment. Again, it appears that whenever a commissioner gets to the point where he knows enough to deal really justly with the companies, the latter make every effort to have him removed. Only on this ground can be explained the persistent fight made against the reappointment of Milo R. Maltbie of the First New York District, who had done as much to make state regulation workable as any man in the country. The Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* tersely reviews the result of this fight as follows:

> The distinction between Maltbie and Hayward, the turning down of the one, the exalting of the other, cannot be misunderstood. An expert in municipal government, in municipal betterment, goes. An expert in practical politics comes.

It is a safe statement that the governors in many states never appoint a public-service commissioner without at least consulting the leading men in the corporations which that same commissioner is to regulate. Corporations in approving or disapproving candidates use a type of sardonic wisdom which has grown out of their experience. Thus the representative of one of the leading utility companies of one of the largest states in the country said to the governor that any "struggling" young attorney would be satisfactory. Not that such a man could be bribed, but that his rising standard of living would make him feel comfortable and satisfied in a $10,000 job.

[1] See "The Crises in Public Service Regulation in New York," by Dr. Delos F. Wilcox. *National Municipal Review*, LV. No. 4, October, 1915.

Another cause seriously operating against the principle of state regulation is the almost entire absence in practice of accepted theories of valuation.[1] Owing to the nation-wide control exerted by the private companies they can successfully insist on unfair or false standards. Practically all the present street lighting by gas and gasolene in the United States is in the control of one company or of one interest. This makes it easy for this combination to advertise the ordinary gasolene street lamp as of 60 candle-power when it is usually not even 40 candle-power. This is one of the many tricks through which these interests have eliminated every competitor.

COST KEEPING

Cost keeping in the utility industries should be a simple matter as compared with cost keeping in almost any manufacturing enterprise. It is also an effort that would involve a minimum of expense. In view of this fact the attitude of the owners of public-service corporations toward cost keeping is not only not easily understood but is almost unbelievable. Before our public-service commission in Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia & Reading Railway recently officially stated that to ascertain the cost of carrying a ton of coal from their mines to the City of Philadelphia was a problem practically incapable of solution.[2] In another rate case the legal representative

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[1]For the most complete available information on the subject of valuation of public utilities, consult the January, 1916, issue of the *Utilities Magazine.*

[2]Docmt. 950 Pa. P. S. C., page 427, H. E. Bellis, N. W. Business Men's Ass'n et al. v. P. & R. R. R. Co. et al.

Theodore Voorhees, President Philadelphia & Reading Railroad: "You cannot get at the cost of any item of railroad service. . . . It never has been done. I do not believe it ever will be done."

Robert H. Large, General Coal Freight Agent, P. R. R.: "You can't take into consideration the cost of the service for two reasons. In the first place, you can't ascertain the cost. That is practically impossible, in freight traffic between commodities."

of the Philadelphia Electric Company stated that it was impossible to segregate for cost-keeping purposes the plant used for the public lighting from that used for private lighting.

Another principle in which the companies profess to believe, and which acts as a great deterrent to the intelligent presentation of a rate case, is that costs secured in one city have no appreciable relation to work of a similar character in another city. The companies have been so successful in pushing this theory that it is most unusual when cost factors secured in one locality can be used in a case affecting rates in another. But it is true, nevertheless, that most of the factors that go to make up electric or gas costs, for instance, are essentially uniform throughout the country. Where they are not the same, they usually vary for well-recognized reasons, for most of which definite factors may be determined. In the generation of electric current there are only two cost factors of importance which vary materially—first, labour, and second, coal. The variation in the price of coal can be definitely determined; and the difference in the cost of labour as between two places can be fixed within a narrow margin of error. A third important point of variation, and one not so readily determined, affects only the cost of distribution, i. e., the extent of territory served. The factors which must be included in all localities make up by far the larger part of the whole cost.

Perhaps if the gas industry had an adequate cost-keeping system its leaders would better understand why gas can be sold in some English towns for 16 cents—for power purposes—while the "classic" rate of one dollar still prevails so generally throughout the United States.

Of the 10,000 or more utility companies operating in this country to-day there is probably only one that has determined its costs in such a way as to have them stand any fair test. At

meetings of the Society to Promote the Science of Management at New Haven, Connecticut, and Ann Arbor, Michigan, Mr. Charles Day of the firm of Day and Zimmerman, Consulting Engineers, Philadelphia, described the wonderfully efficient system used by the Penn Central Company, operating in and to the east and west of Altoona, Pennsylvania. This work suggests great possibilities for the future.

Any study of the principle of state regulation in practice must include some comment on the character of the expert testimony presented before the commissions. Here it is, perhaps, that the cities are at the greatest disadvantage. Let us consider an example. In railroading there is the theory that a man cannot be an efficient railroad employee unless he has served the railroad all his life. Among those who hold the higher positions in that line of work there are almost none who have not been continuously in the employ of the railroads all their lives. Men do not pass from another industry into railroading. There is another rule which is almost universal—a man who has once left the railroad service cannot get back into it, or rarely does do so. A railroad expert, then, is necessarily one who not only has all the prejudices that come with lifelong association with a single industry, but who, by no possible chance, can have had intimate association with the principles and practices of any other industry. Therefore, in any railroad-rate case, or in any other matter involving railroad operation, the cities must depend, if they are to get real experts, on the services of men who have all the prejudices that come from long and exclusive association with the railroad point of view.

In municipal utility rate cases the cities must depend for their experts on the relatively few men of high standing and broad experience who work for publicly owned and operated companies, or those even rarer from within our Universities whose desire to be of public service is sufficiently compelling

to make them willing to abide the discrimination described above.[1] Private interests make every effort to retain efficient men in their employ, especially those who make good witnesses. On the other hand are many men who operate city plants who do not make good witnesses. So that the available witnesses for the city's side in rate cases are not very numerous.

It becomes increasingly clear to those interested in the subject that one of the points where we are being led astray is the present worship by court, commission, jury, and counsel of the so-called expert. It used to be a rule of law, some time back, that mere opinion did not constitute evidence. While in the midst of an era which distinctly sanctions what the old law prohibited, we must look carefully to the qualifications of those who give their opinions. We must advance slowly and cautiously in this new field, where the witness is no longer limited to fact testimony, but is allowed to submit personal opinion as evidence.

It was only natural that the rise of opinion testimony should create a demand for high-priced opinions. And herein lies the danger. No longer does one expert advise the court, but an array of experts on either side consciously balance the cost of their opinion testimony against the line-up whose services the other side had funds enough to command. Professor John H. Gray, of the Valuation Bureau of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in discussing this new type of expert before the Valuation Conference of the Utilities Bureau, on November 12, 1915, remarked:

[1] In the electric rate case against the Philadelphia Electric Company we were fortunate in having as experts Ray Palmer, formerly Commissioner of Gas and Electricity, City of Chicago; Frederick W. Ballard, Commissioner of Lighting, City of Cleveland; Dr. E. M. Patterson, Asst. Professor in Economics, University of Pennsylvania; Clayton W. Pike, Chief of the Electrical Bureau and Judson C. Dickerman, Chief of the Gas Bureau, both of the City of Philadelphia; O. M. Rau, General Manager of the Commonwealth Power Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; George H. Morse, Detroit, Michigan; Edward W. Bemis of Chicago, and Clyde L. King of the University of Pennsylvania.

Captain of Precinct attended by Junior Inspectors

Platoon of Junior Patrolmen Saluting the Colours

The Detroit Board of Commerce Building

The Board of Directors of the Executives Club of the Detroit Board of Commerce.
A club within a club interested in raising the efficiency of
manufacturing in Detroit

They have just about as much relation to the expounding of the science of value as the hired mercenary troops of the Middle Ages had in defending the righteousness of the cause for which they fought.

During the same address Professor Gray exposed the kernel of the expert nut by concluding that unless these high-priced gentlemen are to be entirely done away with, they must, individually, become "real experts for the particular question in hand, and not merely self-proclaimed experts. They must be less partisan than at present, and confined more to facts produced by non-experts." That is, they must base their opinions upon the facts of the case at hand, and not on the general conclusions that are results of "experience." Professor Gray also contends, and very justly, that they "must be greatly limited in number, appointed by the court, and paid by the public."

To recount our experience in this matter at this point would hardly convince any one not now so convinced. It can be said without fear of contradiction, that cities desiring service in the electrical field—service of any value—must build up their own group of experts. This is essentially as true as to the engineering connected with all kinds of utilities. The broadening activities of public-service commissions, and especially the larger appropriations being made for their work, is one cause operating to give the cities experts free from either corporate bias or entanglements. To further development along these lines must we pin our hope for the future.

The situation has certainly improved in some respects in the last ten years. In 1905 we made an altogether futile search for a gas engineer on whom we could lay a good-sized retainer in return for advice in the matter of the 75-year lease of the Philadelphia Gas Works, which it was proposed should be granted to the United Gas Improvement Company. At

the same time we found that the United Gas Improvement Company had retained such a large proportion of the competent lawyers in Philadelphia that the City had to go to New York for legal advice. It is only fair to say that the reluctance of competent engineers to advise the cities or to testify in their behalf is in very large measure due to a feeling that it would be indiscreet for a man to represent both the public and the private interests, even in different cases.

We are told that as an expert is supposed to testify only to the truth, it is all right—even easy—for him to take either end of a given utility controversy. But until our experts are witnesses for the court rather than for the litigants, and especially until the practices of some of our utility companies are further clarified, truth is led in somewhat shackled and it is just as well for all men—especially young men—to be on their guard.

When a man becomes successful on the public side, the utility corporations lose no time in attempting to ruin his reputation. A good example of this kind of treatment is Prof. Edward W. Bemis—whom Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland described as "an expert on the value of public-service corporations and the only such expert on the people's side." Fortunately Mr. Bemis worked on the principle that he could not be an expert on both sides of the questions fundamental to the utility problem. Men high in the utility field have a cordial hatred of him because he is a resourceful and competent witness in rate cases, and knows how to meet the experts put forward by the private companies as perhaps can no other man. I was told by the president of a very large gas company that Professor Bemis was corrupt, and that Mayor Hanna of Des Moines would confirm the statement. I wrote to Mayor Hanna and he replied that "our experience with Mr. Bemis was most highly satisfactory; he is a man of remarkable information in his special line and of remark-

able resourceful ability. As a witness in our gas contest he was of inestimable value." This is doubtless one of the reasons why Mr. Bemis is so cordially disliked by the gas group.

On the other hand, we find in almost every rate case an array of so-called "talent" on the side of the private company which, in the eyes of the public-service commission must be well-nigh irresistible. It certainly sounds impressive to hear an expert qualifying in a rate case state that he is the head professor of electrical engineering at a great university or two, or that he is Past President of the National Electric Light Association, or that he is consulting engineer to a half dozen of the largest electric light and power companies in the country, or that during his life he has been directly connected with the operation of big companies. But when the only qualification necessary for such honours and experience as this is the say-so of somebody high in the councils of the General Electric interests, it is difficult for the ordinary taxpayer to be duly impressed.

The effect on the public interest of the testimony given by men of the type put forward as experts by the private companies is perhaps fairly illustrated by the record of Dugald C. Jackson who, in qualifying recently as an expert in a rate case before the Pennsylvania Public Service Commission, introduced himself by the single statement that he was "professor of electrical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and head of the Department of Electrical Engineering and professor of electrical engineering at Harvard University." Professor Jackson has never really been so much a University professor as a corporate employee giving courses in universities.[1]

If state regulation fails in this country no other cause, in

[1]Professor Jackson is only an ex-officio professor of Harvard University by virtue of the proposed consolidation of the engineering faculties of Harvard and "The Tech."

my opinion, will contribute more largely to such failure than the ability of the national organization of each utility industry to place men of Professor Jackson's type on the witness stand, as experts, in any part of the Union. His introduction is—as at Harrisburg—the prestige of two great institutions of learning; his record is one long line of important technical assignments given to him by the very interests which his testimony tends to protect; and his theories of valuation and rates are those the effect of which lend aid and comfort to watered stock and exhorbitant charges.

Negotiation undoubtedly has its place in the control of the utility problem. One splendid instance of this kind of work is to be found in the record of Robert L. Burnet, who under the title of "Public Service Engineer," in Providence, R. I., brought about remarkable improvements in the service rendered by the utilities of that community. A competent and aggressive official, especially if he is supported with liberal appropriations, can undoubtedly accomplish a great deal. Unfortunately it is almost the universal practice for cities to pay entirely too low salaries in the higher positions and even where the salaries are adequate, they give their employees almost nothing in the way of funds for investigating the conduct of the private companies.

THE UTILITIES BUREAU

Out of inter-city coöperation will come perhaps the largest measure of relief from the unbearable conditions which exist in the utility field to-day. Plans were perfected for the beginning of this coöperation at the Conference of American Mayors, held in Philadelphia, November 12-14, 1914. One of the chief results of this Conference was the establishment of The Utilities Bureau, a medium through which the cities of the country might coöperate in the solution of the utility

Entrance to Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia
Flower Exhibition for prizes, East Mauch Chunk, Pa.
Tabby Cat Tea House, Hamilton-Wenham, Mass.

MAIN CLUB HOUSE

Here are carried on a wide range of community activities such as men's clubs, debating societies, a gymnasium, cooking schools, and mothers' meetings

TENNIS COURTS

In the "Corner House" shown in the rear are dental and eye and ear clinics, and the headquarters for the district nurses

problems. The results of a Conference on Valuation—held by the Bureau in November, 1915, one year after its establishment—speaks well for its future in this field. The proceedings of that Conference form probably the most comprehensive treatment of the subject of valuation that is obtainable at the present time.

As long as the utilities are working on a national basis they can, over a greater part of the country, successfully beat down and altogether nullify the legitimate convictions of the cities. But if, through coöperation between the cities, by means of the Utilities Bureau and other similar agencies, the cities can be organized on a national basis, the companies will ultimately see that the present game of bluff and force is not good business.

We are in the stage of inquiry as regards utility matters. It would no more pay, at the present time, to swing too far one way than too far the other. As Mayor Stratton of Reading, Pennsylvania, has remarked in the *Utilities Magazine*: "Threat is invariably met with threat, and in the end leads only to destruction and annihilation without the accomplishment of a particle of good to any one." It is just because of these facts that every city should, at all times, be in possession of all the facts about every utility which serves it. We will look back, at some future day, upon this period of utility hide-and-seek as one does on the Dark Ages.

After the water in these properties has been worked out through the adoption in each locality of some reasonably equitable scheme, and after a reasonable rate of return for utility investments has been determined for each part of the country, and after the companies have adopted a genuine programme of fact publicity, there would seem to be no inherent reason why a municipality and its public-service companies should not do business with each other to their mutual advantage and satisfaction. As long as we are asked to look

upon inflated securities as having real value, and as long as we are asked to pay rates based on the value of the service rather than on cost plus a fair profit, and as long as the publicity basis is comparable only to pre-war European diplomacy the feud will continue.

The greatest present-day problem in utility matters is not *who* is to own and operate them but *how* shall they be operated? Tied up in the answer to this question are world-wide forces that can only partially be reached by legislation. A titanic battle is on between a democratic army and eleven billions of capital. Both sides are wrong. Neither understands the other, and almost any issue may result. But whether this feud voices itself through state regulation, municipal operation, or through negotiation, this struggle as it has been carried on in the past can bring good only to an almost insignificant number of capitalists, promoters, and investment bankers.

CHAPTER IX

THE CITY AS AN ALLY OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

IN THE light of the history of the development of city government in this country the functions of a properly operated municipality cannot be considered in any way static. Something happens, and every city in the land provides an agency to meet the new need or at least to cover a new situation. The scientists tell us that typhoid is largely a water-born disease and we provide for the filtering of the water supply, for its testing at significant times and places, for the gradual purification of the streams from which it is drawn, and for studying the more economical distribution and use of water as the cost of producing it goes up. Perhaps we lay some long-performed function down but while we are doing so we take up many others. The whole organism which we call the city government is not only actively alive but should be growing by leaps and bounds. We must get this viewpoint toward it and constantly ask ourselves how this agency of our own creation is meeting not only its responsibilities but its possibilities. Because our city has not performed a given function in the past does not of course constitute a valid reason why it should not do so in the future. We have, for instance, in the strictly engineering branches of the Philadelphia city government, over 4,000 men and women regularly employed. The progenitor of this great throng was a single person appointed, about 1690, by the then reigning English king, to regulate the water courses of the district. From that simple

beginning all our present multifarious engineering duties have sprung.

Looking into the future we can detect a great many new duties which will either be taken over by the municipality or initiated by it. For instance, no city can prosper except as its industries prosper. In this country they receive almost a minimum of guidance and assistance from the municipality. Within a generation, American cities will find that there must be some definite continuous policy as to the fostering of industries. In many respects our municipal governments act as a handicap to their industries. Such relations must be made broadly helpful. Ultimately a mutually helpful tie-in between the cities of this country and their federal and state governments will be brought about with industry acting as the connecting link.

The old answer as to how a city could help industry, was to grant special privileges—to become, that is, the tool of business, not its ally. "Is our city a good place in which to live?" is the early vital question to industry. In the long run the handsome furnishings of the City's chamber of commerce will not be as active an inducement to business men to locate their plants in that particular city as generally satisfactory conditions for the workingman will be. Raw materials may be had for cash. But the upbuilding of a satisfied working population requires time, thought, and energy.

When the city's civic organizations and municipal authorities improve the living conditions of the workingman's family—by looking well to annual wages, by reducing the cost of living, or by making the city in which they operate a more enjoyable place in which to have a home and bring up a family—the enhanced earning power of the population attracts new industrial establishments. Community playgrounds, parks, clean streets, low-priced public services, municipal piers, belt lines, are therefore seen to be valuable allies to industrial progress.

MARKETS AND THE COST OF LIVING

Mr. Herbert Hoover tackled America's food problem primarily as a distribution problem. "Our system of food distribution," he said, "is the most costly in the world." And why? Because our job has grown more rapidly than our facilities.

Why, for instance, do strawberries go from Selbyville, Delaware (the largest strawberry-shipping point in the United States), to Philadelphia, 104 miles distant, to be resold and go back again over the same route as far as Wilmington, Delaware, 27 miles away, to be hauled to the storage house of the commission man, again sold, and hauled by huckster's team fourteen miles to reach the consumer at Kennett Square, Pennsylvania? The Pennsylvania Railroad touches each of the points mentioned in this case. Any quality left in the berries after the last leg of this roundabout journey is due rather to the providence of God than to the wisdom of man. William G. Williams of Selbyville, the largest berry buyer in that town for the past twenty-five years, says that the present route of strawberries from his town to Kennett Square, with transfers incident to that trip, takes away from 25 per cent. to 35 per cent. from the value of the berries. Thus, at an advanced cost, Kennett Square obtains an inferior product.

This is a relatively simple and obvious example of the want of organization in the marketing of our local products.

An interesting and detailed inquiry on the trolley light-freight situation, as affecting the Philadelphia food supply, was carried on in 1913 by the coöperation of Dr. Clyde L. King of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania and is considered one of the most important contributions made to this general subject. Strange to say our transportation chiefs at that time ridiculed all proposals to effect any advantageous changes in the cities' food supply through

the encouragement of local shipments and the local consumption of locally grown foods. Because of the crush of freight following our entry into the European war, however, our railway friends heartily indorsed the Hoover policy of local consumption of vicinity-grown produce. As Dr. King said in his report to me, "to clear the way from the farm to the city and from the city to the farm will decrease the farmer's transportation costs and the amount of time spent in marketing his goods"; it "will enhance the facilities through which the stores in the small towns can handle more economically both their incoming and outgoing freight," and will "extend the bounds of social life in each agricultural district." Efficient trolley freight service to outlying districts will "give to the retail stores a smaller transportation charge; give to Philadelphia's manufacturing establishments and stores increased facilities for sales; and give to Philadelphia's consumers fresher produce at better prices."

Through studies made by our department it is quite apparent that a modest programme of financial encouragement, not necessarily involving any exclusive market buildings, would yield big results in the way of reduction in the cost of living. The several eastern Pennsylvania trolley lines centring in Philadelphia tap primarily seven neighbouring counties—Montgomery, Bucks, Lehigh, Berks, Lancaster, Chester, and Delaware. These counties contain the largest number of the most productive farms in the state. Of the tremendous amount of produce grown within this radius of a few miles only an exceedingly small percentage is consumed within the city of Philadelphia. The extended use by the producer of the trolley freight and motor facilities would turn large quantities of these foodstuffs to the Philadelphia markets which now find their way to more distant points, or are not marketed at all.

The consumption of locally grown foods is having a new

meaning, as city dwellers drive into the country in their own automobiles to buy their produce. In the summer of 1917, this custom grew rapidly. Mr. Howard Heinz, the Food Director of Pennsylvania, suggested special sales of home-grown vegetables in the city's streets. The parcels post can be developed by continuous attention to the upkeep of a reliable list of farmers and consumers desiring such service. The hamper plan is worthy of special consideration. Mr. A. B. Ross[1] has developed a "Point of Origin" shipment plan worthy of careful consideration by city authorities. The local consumption of home-grown foods relieves the railways and develops the community. Cities, towns, and villages can afford to pay heed to these possibilities not only under the stress of war but as continuous peace-time measures.

However, the food for our city dwellers must now come largely in carload lots. Philadelphia consumers use from twenty-five to fifty carloads of potatoes a day. The large city's larger problem is therefore to provide adequate facilities for handling its foodstuffs by the car lot.

The present food situation is but an impressive expression of what has long been the two outstanding facts about food costs in American cities: (1) those costs are the largest part of the family expenditure and (2) they are larger than they ought to be. Our civic vision has not been large enough to keep the machinery for selling and buying foodstuffs sufficiently up to date to keep food expenses at a minimum.

Other countries have secured lower food costs by definitely planning for them. If our manufacturers and other employers of labour could really see what can be done for real wages as distinct from money wages (and hence what can be done toward an ever better labour situation in Phila-

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[1]See "Point of Origin Plan for Marketing," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. XLXIV—Nov. 17, A. B. Ross.

delphia and in every large city in the land) by adopting even fairly modern and only thoroughly tried methods for reducing food costs, they, not the housewives, would be planning demonstrations—polite demonstrations, of course—but effective nevertheless.

A study of what the money wage buys will convince any one that actual wages are less to-day than they have been since the early '90's, and this despite the phenomenal increase in money wages in the last few months. The superficial thing is to say that "labour ought to be satisfied" and never look further into what wages are really buying and how money wages can be made to go further. Practically half the income of those whose family incomes are less than $1,000 per year goes for food—and much more than that at the present prices. Certainly 35 per cent. of the income of those whose family incomes are around $1,000 per year, or just above, goes for food at normal prices—far more is required at the present time. Why not have the machinery by which these costs can be permanently reduced? A stable industrial centre cannot be built up on temporary expedients such as sales of food at cost, however valuable these expedients may be as charity measures in times of emergency. For these temporary expedients only undermine permanent agencies.

Our food machinery must be big enough and planned on a large enough scale to influence prices not only for the hundreds of thousands within the cities but also for the millions in metropolitan areas. Moreover, this machinery must be comprehensive enough and stable enough and reliable enough to affect prices for 365 days a year. As every factory owner knows, too small a machine may be a handicap rather than a help. We must think in terms of the hundreds of millions of dollars our city and her neighbours spend annually for food.

The central part of this food receiving and distributing machinery must be a large wholesale terminal market. This market must be situated in the present wholesale district; for businesses cannot and should not be pulled up and planted elsewhere at will. This terminal market, moreover, must be on the belt line with easy access to all railroads and all water lines. It must be large enough so that cars can be run into the building and unloaded to save the expense of trucking. It must have ample cold-storage facilities. Chilled rooms must be provided into which perishable produce can be unloaded from the cars and repacked to suit the trade without the deterioration inevitably resulting from unloading in a warm atmosphere. There must be really adequate transshipping machinery. In short, this plan must be big enough to make for real economies in large-scale receiving and distributing of foodstuffs.

Philadelphia once, long ago, under the stimulus of Revolutionary times, bethought itself of its food facilities and planned public markets that for their time were ample and effective. To-day these markets, for the work there is to do, are as inadequate as Independence Hall would be to-day for both a city hall and a state capitol. And, like Independence Hall, they stand to-day, to put it mildly, merely as a tribute to the foresight and civic abilities of our forefathers and as a measure of what proportionately we of the present generation *ought* to be doing.

Well-administered terminal wholesale markets are characteristic of every European city. They are to be found in Paris, London, Brussels, Lyons, Havre, Budapest, Prague. The market in Paris, for instance—located near the Louvre, and known as the Halles Centrales—consists of ten pavilions and open structures, partly covered by a roof, occupying in its entirety twenty-two acres and erected at a total cost of $22,000,000. In this vast entrepôt the various mar-

ket supplies are received by rail, by drays, by boats on the Seine River, and by great wagons from the country. Over one billion pounds of products are sold there every year. New York City, Chicago, and other American cities have recently worked out plans for terminal markets in detail.

But can a plant ample for the business be made an assurance of lower food costs to the city dweller? It can be, has been, and is. Moreover, it is now in many places an assurance of fair prices to the farmer as well. How can this be done? The plan must include provision for a public licensed auctioneer who will sell foodstuffs in relatively small quantities. The commission to be charged by these bonded licensed auctioneers must be fixed and care must be taken to see that they are not directly or indirectly interested in the trade of market wares of any kind. In European terminal markets, these commissions average about 2 per cent.

A report made some time ago by our consuls abroad, as to the results of terminal wholesale markets in the countries in which they were situated, bears witness to what terminal wholesale markets are doing under the licensed-auctioneer plan. Consul John C. Covert said, as to the system in Lyons, France: "Fish and game are brought here for sale from England, Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, and from all parts of France. If a grocer or butcher anywhere in France, in fact anywhere in Europe outside of Lyons, has an overstock of any kind of provisions, he is always sure that he can get rid of it at the central market auction in Lyons. Often a stock of provisions is sold here at private sale by correspondence for and to parties outside the city." Mr. Frank Bohr, then Consular Assistant in Germany, and now one of our Consuls in Switzerland, wrote as follows in regard to the results obtained in Berlin: "The municipal sales commissioners are bonded officials who are forbidden to be interested, directly or indirectly, in the trade in market wares of any kind. They are

responsible to the market hall management, and are allowed to collect a certain fixed percentage of all sales made. The primary purpose of these officers is to offer distant dealers and producers opportunity to ship in their wares, and have them brought into the hands of Berlin dealers and consumers, through the agency of responsible middlemen and with the assurance of a published and steady price. A second or indirect purpose is that, through their competition with the private wholesale dealers and through the daily publication of their report on the average wholesale prices for all wares and at all the halls, the municipal sales commissioners exercise a steadying influence upon the entire wholesale business. Although it is estimated that they handle only about one fifth of the total wares received at the central market hall, it is nevertheless conceded that they indirectly prevent extortion by the private wholesale dealer upon the producer or dealer on the one hand and upon the consumer or retailer on the other."

Such a wholesale public auction would attract not only retail dealers large and small and the larger consumers, such as hotel and restaurant managers, but the small consumers as well. To this end, the quantities offered in wholesale are fixed at relatively small amounts. In the wholesale market at Havre, France, merchandise may be offered for sale in such small quantities as six ordinary-sized bunches of vegetables; nine quarts (or, when sold by weight, 11 pounds) of fruits and vegetables—even this minimum being reduced by half during April and May; vegetables which it is customary to sell by count, such as cabbages, cucumbers, tomatoes, etc., 1 dozen; oranges and lemons, 1 dozen; large vegetables, such as cantaloupes, melons, etc., in as small quantities as one of each. In Lyons, quails, partridges, ducks, etc., are put up in bunches of half a dozen or a dozen; eggs in lots of 100; oysters in boxes of 100; butter in lots of 50 pounds. With sales in such small

quantities as these, the smaller consumers, singly or through coöperation, and the larger consumers everywhere can buy with but one intermediary between them and the farmer, and that a public auction department that adds but 2 per cent. to the price the farmer receives plus freight. The average increase in the price of American foodstuffs from farmer to consumer is over 100 per cent. The American consumer pays on the average around $2.25 for the same foods for which the farmer received $1.00. Retail market stalls can also be provided.

The hoary objection to all of this is that the consumer will not bestir herself and buy more cheaply but will sit at home and use the telephone and demand that the goods be delivered. In the first place, there is no reason why there cannot be both a telephone and deliveries in public markets. Both are being used in modern public markets In the second place, if the crushing evidence of bargain counters and the recent demonstrations in our cities do not meet these objections, no arguments or facts will do so. Those who feel that the only element in high food costs is the comfort of the purchaser need to get out awhile where living costs pinch.

But, says someone else: "You will destroy the business of our food jobbers and wholesale merchants—let us have a *constructive* plan!" Well, what are the facts? The chain stores buy and sell considerably over one half the food consumed in Philadelphia. The organized retail grocers—1,250 of them or thereabouts—who do, say, another 25 per cent. of our food business, buy collectively, in order to meet this chain-store competition, through the Girard Grocery Company, and this company is doing business for these grocers, it is stated, at a cost (including delivery) of about 2.85 per cent. (that is just a little above the percentage allowed public auctioneers in European cities). That is, of the foodstuffs consumed in Philadelphia, but a scant 10 or 15 per cent. is

handled by our food jobbers. The big business of our jobbers and wholesale merchants is the supplying of outlying districts. An adequate terminal market system would make of Philadelphia the primary market centre for a large and ever-growing territory. The jobbing and wholesale business will accordingly be expanded, not curtailed by a proper system of wholesale terminal markets. These provisions aimed at giving lower food costs to consumers are also essential to attract the business Philadelphia ought to handle as a food-jobbing centre.

As a community, we have thought about rapid transit and we know that it is important. What we eat, and what we pay for what we eat, are vastly more important. Dollars are involved in food where nickels are in transit. And just as rapid transit needs a plan big enough for a big city, so do food costs need a plan big enough to get really effective results.

There are other elements needed in this plan besides a terminal wholesale market. A state department of markets and foods is one of them. But certainly for any large city of this day the first step is the terminal market.

LOCAL RETAIL DISTRICTS

There is always the tendency to bring to the centre of any city an ever-increasing proportion of the retail trade. In a city of any size this means putting upon the people themselves, as well as upon the streets and other transit facilities, an unnecessary burden. It seemed to us to be good municipal policy to encourage in every way the upbuilding of separate retail trade centres, and more particularly those located in the outlying districts. We made the most of every opportunity to improve the paving, cleaning, and lighting of such thoroughfares. One indirect object of having even a few of the retail trade streets well paved, well lighted, and well cleaned, is to

emphasize to our people the importance of having these centres and to educate the taxpayers to demand the same good conditions throughout the residential districts. In other words, we considered a few high-grade streets of this kind, located in places where the people would use them, to be the best possible advertisement of the city's industrial advantages, as it was one sure way to keep down living costs and to keep up living standards. To develop outlying trade centres, we arranged in Philadelphia a week known as "Retail Merchants Week" during which a course of evening lectures was given at four different points—Frankford, Germantown, West Philadelphia, and South Philadelphia. The effort was made to point out to the retail merchants in these outlying districts the possibilities of building up their business to their own advantage and to the betterment of the city as a whole. Addresses were made at these meetings by Mr. Herbert W. Hess, of the Advertising Department of the University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. James W. Fisk, editor of the *Dry Goods Economist* of New York City and lecturer at the University of Minnesota and elsewhere.

The excessive concentration of trade and traffic in our largest cities has caused congestion on the surface of our streets which must find relief in the very near future. Besides municipal encouragement for outlying trade centres, something must be done to relieve the central district. We are working in the right direction along these lines in our consideration of the value of the traffic circuit or, in other words, a quadrangle of wide, well-paved thoroughfares on the border of the principal business district. The concentration of traffic and its relief is almost too big a subject to be even touched on here, but one fact is clear—the city must accept responsibility for its solution. The traffic circuit will open up many new possibilities in parking spaces for automobiles, and under proper conditions, will serve as an effective fire barrier. Such projects should

be financed in part by assessments against property owners deriving financial benefits from the improvement.

PUBLIC PARKS AND BATHS

The cause of our parks is the cause of our public health. It is also the cause of municipal beauty. Dr. Charles J. Hastings, Medical Health officer of Toronto, Canada, says:

"The United States and Canada are squandering $200,000,000 annually on patent medicines and spending less than $5,000,000 on public health and prevention of disease."

The establishment of municipal parks and squares, playgrounds for the children and driveways for the grown-ups who are in position to use them, is one of the first considerations of industrial helpfulness. These open spaces, so aptly called "the city's lungs," are the protectors of the city's health, and hence of its industrial prosperity.

Mr. H. D. W. English, President of Pittsburgh's Chamber of Commerce, tells of two good-sized manufacturing concerns which, wishing to move their plants to another city, sent committees of their skilled workmen to visit the new location, hoping thereby to influence the men to move with the concerns. The workmen refused, after the investigation, to accompany their employers, because the city to which the employers wished to go lacked the public facilities they considered necessary to the health and enjoyment of their families.

The public bath house is a feature which no industrial city can afford to overlook. In the illustrations are shown two different types of bath houses in New York City. For the one on East 23d Street, the figures are as follows:

Original cost (1908).....$249,432.05
Upkeep (1913).....$20,580.00

Patronized by.....312,614
Cost per bath.....Less than 6.2 c.

Figuring interest and depreciation charges on this bath, both at 5% each, these patrons would carry interest, depreciation, and upkeep, that is, have the entire undertaking paid for in twenty years, and self-supporting during that time, at a cost per bath of 12 c.

The downtown bath on Allen street makes a somewhat different showing:

Original cost (1905).....$92,934.80
Upkeep (1913).....$13,350.00
Patronized by (1913).....565,001
Cost per bath.....2.3 c. approx.

Figuring interest and depreciation charges on this bath, both at 5% each, these patrons would carry interest, depreciation and upkeep, that is, have the entire undertaking paid for in twenty years, and self-supporting during that time, at a cost of about an even 4 c. per bath.

COÖPERATION WITH BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

We made it our business to keep in constant touch with business men's associations and others in an effort to remove long-standing obstacles to the growth of certain sections of the city. It frequently happens, for instance, that a piece of real estate, wholly unimportant in itself, is so held as to block the development of a large area over a long period of years. It requires the interest of someone in a responsible position to bring about coöperation or perhaps to develop the method of forcing an undivided or minor interest to yield for the benefit of the many. Sometimes the lack of a given facility—such as a bridge for instance—will exert an influence

THE NORWOOD (MASS.) CIVIC ASSOCIATION

A. Theatre and lecture hall
B. Gymnasium
C. Game room

BAND CONCERT AND SINGING
City Hall Plaza, Philadelphia

entirely out of proportion to its cost. We built one bridge to carry a steam railroad over a street and the following year the increase in real estate taxes alone in the district affected more than paid the entire cost of the bridge. The elimination of grade crossings is another fruitful field for the combined efforts of business men's associations and the city government. For instance, at the request of the South Philadelphia Business Men's Association we undertook a study which ultimately led to an agreement with the Pennsylvania and Baltimore & Ohio railroads providing for the abolition of upward of one hundred grade crossings and making numerous other street and water-front improvements involving a joint expenditure amounting to about 25 million dollars. Without the united and active support of organized business men these and many other equally necessary improvements would probably have been delayed for many years.

The laying of wood-block pavements around schools and hospitals and in certain narrow streets in the business district, the removal of over five miles of unused street-car tracks, the substitution of granite block at important street-railroad intersections, the removal of snow from important street intersections in the outlying districts, and the improving of the type of street lamp are only some of the numerous improvements brought about because of our desire that the city should be a faithful ally to industrial progress.

It cannot be stated too frequently that perhaps the most important duty of the municipal administration is to get the largest possible number of people "into the play"—to borrow an expression from the football field. If a practice is made of providing improvements almost before the people recognize the need for them a most valuable opportunity to educate the public is lost. For this reason we made the effort to have suggestions for improvements as frequently as possible emanate from business men's associations and other public bodies. In

fact, a piece of construction work of any considerable size is only well undertaken when its building has been preceded by a considerable period of public discussion and agitation. The municipal administrator is in a stronger position to lead in the fight for some step forward, the importance of which is not perhaps fully understood by all the public, if in the great majority of his policies and acts he has worked with and through a developed and organized public opinion.

Whenever possible, in starting any new project, we began with some kind of a public function. Even on grading jobs where any public sentiment for the improvement had been aroused, we arranged a neighbourhood "party" when the first spadeful of earth was turned. On more important projects an informal stand was erected and prominent men were asked to speak. The people are usually eager to know as much as possible about work "going on in the neighbourhood."

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Many cities are now providing commercial education for those school children expecting to enter business or professional offices. It seems entirely proper that the municipality should supplement the work of private institutions in this direction. The girl or boy attending the commercial course of the high school is not rushed as much as is necessary in the business schools, and as a consequence, has a broader foundation for future work. Lunch and lounging rooms, and other conveniences, broaden the students' opportunities and soften the competitive edge during the training period.

Largely under the influence of continental countries—nearly every large city in the country is now doing something in the direction of vocational guidance in its public schools. The drift is undoubtedly in the direction of even greater activity along these lines. It is certainly well that it should

be so. No industrial community can face the future with any degree of security unless the educational system does coöperate broadly and wisely in preparing the oncoming generation of men and women workers. Experience will demonstrate that specialized training in this field can be carried too far. Finished printers and machinists and textile workers cannot be trained in the schools. The time is too short, the expense is too great, and there is altogether too great a chance that the student will never have the opportunity to use just the type of specialized training which the school course afforded. But underlying the work of mechanics of all classes are certain principles and objective tests which can be developed and later the special training for individual trades on which so much emphasis is now placed will take its proper relative position after a "job" has been secured. The schoolroom cannot take the place of the special training that must be offered in the first few weeks of employment in any industry, not excepting agriculture.

RECOGNITION OF PUBLIC SERVICE

In time of war our cities vie with each other in honouring their sons and daughters who have been brave and faithful in their devotion to the public welfare. This custom has come down to us through almost countless generations. Some such equivalent must be found for recognizing those who perform signal services in the public interest in times of peace. Especially in industry this type of municipal activity will ultimately afford great opportunities for municipal statesmanship.

Fresno, California, recognizes the value to the public of her raisin crop. She has already become the centre of the California raisin industry. This is due largely to the efforts of the Fresno Boosters Club, guided by Mr. Levy, publicity

manager of the Fresno *Republican*. Much of this raisin success has been accomplished by the activities of a Miss Anita King who loses no opportunity to boost Sun Maid Raisins, the kind that saved her life on the western deserts, and the kind that comes from Fresno. By all sorts of methods these Fresno people are trying to develop more uses for raisins so that the industry may prosper and Fresno grow. Miss King, whose main vocation is that of a movie actress, has attained great local prominence because of her success in advancing this civic interest. The Fresno *Republican* of November 13, 1915, in the course of a half-page illustrated article, outlines Miss King's efforts of the previous day:

> The trip of the day, which began at Selma, included in its course a stop at Fowler, throwing of the first shovelful of earth for the Van Ness Boulevard Arch on the south line of Fresno, a reception to the municipality at the Republican corner, where the three keys of Fresno were presented, a trip to the Kearney Estate University farm, and an address by Miss King at the State Normal School, and another to the Vocational Club at the High School.

CITY AID TO WHOLESOME NUTRITION

Our national and local governments are doing a great work to help the American farmer. In addition to national, state, and city support of various agricultural colleges which cooperate with the United States Department of Agriculture, and with each other, the Government has a specialist in charge of club work whose duty it is to organize clubs to promote better farming methods among the young farmers, and to arouse their enthusiasm. Corn, tomato, and potato clubs are scattered over the whole country and their work has received the recognition and support of a number of municipalities.

Several of our cities have experimental farms, managed

separately or in connection with some other phase of municipal work. More often our states are supporting experimental stations at state colleges, in connection with the agricultural work. Special lectures for farmers, given in various country districts, are a feature of this work. Short courses at the state's model farm is another method the Government adopts to aid the farmer. The railway car or train of special cars, illustrating modern methods of carrying on various phases of farming, such as the dairy, is becoming a familiar method of governmental aid to the farming industry. The Federal Department of Agriculture distributes bulletins, seeds, etc., and undertakes scientific solutions of the farmer's problems. Agents of this department are looking out for the farmer's interests in all parts of the country.

Thirty states had 174,121 members enrolled in their boys' and girls' agricultural clubs during 1915. These have been greatly increased since the war began. The names given to these clubs depend on their chief interest, as: corn, potato, poultry, garden and canning, pork, cooking or sewing. The various canned products of the girls' clubs, when they come up to the standard requirements of the United States Department of Agriculture, may be sold under the 4-H Brand Club Label. Thus is the lesson in standardization of farm products driven home.

The problem of capturing the interest of the boys and girls of our cities in the work of the municipality in some such fashion as has been done in these agricultural clubs has hardly been stated much less solved. But the boys and girls of any city constitute a great reservoir of municipal power which must be tapped before our municipal problem can be considered as on the way to any adequate solution.

An example of what I have in mind must suffice. It is now fairly well established by dietary experts that there are certain nutrient elements in milk that are essential to a whole-

some diet.[1] These nutrient properties can be found in other foods but in none so surely and cheaply as in milk. With all the quantity of certain foods—such as cereals—that a Crœsus could buy, mal-nutrition will inevitably result unless from some source these nutrient properties are attained. Again, the best of modern authorities point to the necessary relation between wholesome nourishment and even nominal earning power.

What a host of new opportunities and duties these new facts of science give to our cities. Would we have well-nourished individuals as a basis of our industries? Our boys and girls can be organized into enthusiastic groups for the spread of knowledge as to diet and for the inculcation of wholesome dietary habits.

STABILIZING EMPLOYMENT

Thomas Carlyle in his "Latter Day Problems" has said that "the 'organization of Labour' is the universal Problem of the World." This seems to summarize my interest in scientific management. I believe that through a genuine science of management we are going to get more of what Carlyle had in mind by "organization" than by any other grouping of industrial mechanisms or by any other system of industrial philosophy.

Management, of course, must be both efficient and scientific. But it must first be democratic. Ultimately every party at interest must have a fair share in its conduct. Just as surely it must be built essentially out of coöperation and not out of strife and loss. And most important of all, the principles upon which it rests must be grounded so deep in eternal justice and

[1]See "Some Essentials to a Safe Diet" by C. V. McCollum, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. LXXIV, November, 1917.

in the fear of God as to afford a basis for an ever-expanding idealism.

In the one word "Unemployment" is summed up a problem of tremendous importance to any industrial city. No other obstacle to our growth as an industrial nation is less likely to be successfully combated unless our leaders—industrial, educational, and civic—keep attention focussed upon it. No one of the unfortunate conditions of our industrial life is more susceptible to control than this one, if manufacturers, educators, the labouring class, and others interested will so view it. It has been responsibly estimated that the average annual periods of unemployment are 25 per cent. in the textile industries, as high as 40 per cent. in the building trades, from six to twelve weeks in the shoe industry, and from 20 to 30 per cent. among those engaged in printing and binding.

A telling picture of concrete results of unemployment in the lives of men and women is given in a letter from Miss Mary Van Kleeck, now head of Women's Work in the Department of Labour. Her story of Rose—the little Italian who earned her living making artificial flowers, and who had worked in so many places that she could not even remember their names—makes one eager to help to bring science to the ordering of this haphazard industrial régime. For weeks at a time Rose had no work when she needed it most. This happened again and again—each time apparently for a different reason. Her ups and downs bore no relation to the normal labour demand and were in no way occasioned by her own efficiency or inefficiency. We did not need Rose's testimony—that "I am awfully scared they will lay me off. The worry makes my head ache so I cannot sleep nights"—to know that the "fear of unemployment" is one of the worst—if not the worst—burdens carried by the working classes, and doubtless a very potent influence toward national inefficiency.

This industrial disturbance which we broadly characterize

HOLDING A JOB
The average American workingman finds a new employer once a year

as unemployment is brought about by almost numberless different causes, important and trivial, known and unknown, operating both at home and abroad, both inside and outside the factory, and both regularly and spasmodically. Any effort to reduce the total amount of unemployment, whether in the nation as a whole or in an industry or in an individual factory, presupposes an analysis in which the effects of the several operating causes are clearly isolated for individual attack. My theory is that the problem of unemployment is a problem of good times rather than of bad times and that, say, 90 per cent. of all the unemployment, which makes men and women suffer and which demoralizes and degrades them, can be eliminated by proper organization within our factory walls.

A good many manufacturers work on the theory that periods

of employment or unemployment are "wished" on us or come largely as "Acts of God." So the stroke of lightning may be taken as an evidence of a Divine dispensation. But this does not prevent us from erecting lightning-rods to conduct this power back to Mother Earth in such a way that no harm is done. In the same spirit scientific management takes the hopeful view as to these interruptions in employment.

The principal bar to any large accomplishment in this field is our inherited fondness for things as they are. Walter Bagehot has said: "There are many persons to whom a new idea gives positive pain." If I were a Chinaman and I saw one of my neighbours begin to tie his queue in a novel way, that neighbour would become my enemy and the enemy of my people. Could I be assured that if he made a minor change in this matter he might not change his ideas as to more important matters? Once recognize the possibility of change in one individual and it may become contagious. So we all come honestly by our antipathy to change. Therefore we can afford to be very charitable to those who have difficulty in adjusting themselves to any new order.

The goal for a given establishment is a definite number of employees each working full time—without overtime—and at maximum wages and with no changes in the personnel. This 100 per cent. result is not possible of achievement but is a standard with which to compare such results as are attained.

Frequent changes in personnel—even when the total number of employees remains fairly stationary—is one cause of unemployment and constitutes perhaps the worst malady of American industry. The average employer in this country hires and discharges as many men in a year as he employs. When I first heard this statement made by a national authority on the subject—E. M. Hopkins, President of Dartmouth College and at the time in charge of the Employment Bureau of the Curtis Publishing Company—it seemed to be an exag-

geration. But taken the country over, the average man has to seek a new job once a year. I am informed that in the clothing industry the "hirings and firings" run from 150 to 250 per cent. of the total number employed. An example of the improvement that may be effected by an intelligent supervision is represented by the experience of the firm of Joseph & Feiss, Cleveland, Ohio, during a five-year period:

	STANDARD PAYROLL	NEW HANDS	PER CENT.
1910	1,044	1,570	150
1911	951	807	85
1912	887	663	75
1913	854	569	66
1914	825	290	35

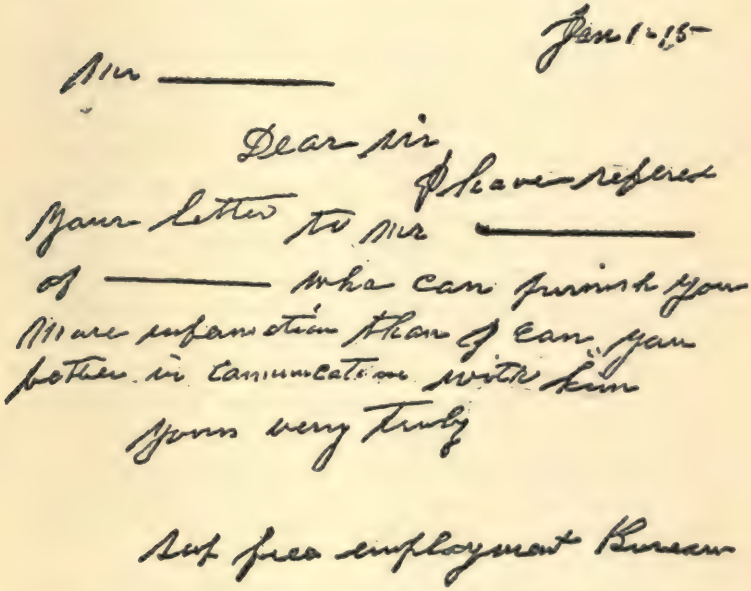
The very frequency with which the average American changes his employer seems to have suggested the undue importance, as mitigating agencies, which has been accorded to labour exchanges—municipal, state, and federal. We need such exchanges and we want them to be the most effective in the world, but at best they represent only the beginning of the attack on the problem. There is an important field for such agencies if they can be organized in harmony with democratic ideals. Their principal function is not to care for unusual conditions, but to aid usual conditions. In "hard times" public labour bureaus help the labourer; in normal times they help both the labourer and the employer. They can assist in linking up the berry picker and the cannery, the winter lumbering and the summer harvesting, etc. That is, they can assure a fair total annual wage to all who desire it.

The causes for the failures among the state and municipal employment bureaus are easily discovered. In the first instance the appropriations are inadequate. A small appropri-

ation is worse than none; it accomplishes no results and is an inducement to corruption. An adequate appropriation is the first essential. With proper funds, managed correctly, a capable personnel will be attracted.

The municipal employment offices, operating independently, are naturally limited in resources and achievements. The Newark, New Jersey, office is in charge of the city clerk and operates mostly by "want ads" and circular letters. Before any very radical relief can come from this direction there must be coöperation between the agencies—municipal, state, and national.

The value of any employment bureau is, after all, dependent


Jan 1-15-

Mr ———

Dear Sir

I have referred your letter to Mr ———

of ——— who can furnish you more information than I can. You better communicate with him

Yours very Truly

Supt free employment Bureau

ONLY THREE YEARS AGO

The writer of this letter receives, a year, $1,500 for his services. *Who wins? The Political Boss, who appointed him*

to a large extent on the qualifications of the superintendent. The superintendent should understand the technical principles involved in his business, the industrial problems of his state and nation, and he should be a capable manager. "He should be depended upon to train the staff, supervise the work, and to develop an administrative machine that will be permanent."[1] Such a man cannot be had for $1,000 or for $1,200. The local superintendents of employment bureaus, therefore, can hardly ever be secured through a system of political appointments. As a successful western private agency writes: "With a free office, the manager, as far as I have seen, knows nothing about an employment office. He draws his $1,200 a year. If any jobs come, all right; if any help come, all right: he does not advertise for help or jobs."[2]

The developments of the War including the enlargement of the scope of the employment service of the Department of Labour are likely to affect radically every phase of the employment problem. In fact, this has already happened.

The statement is frequently made that it is up to the government—federal, state, and municipal—to provide work for the unemployed in times of great industrial depression. Only a little figuring as to the amounts of money available for public improvements will convince one that government work can be used only to mitigate the worst of the distress at the peak of unemployment. It would be better for government work, and especially municipal work, to be made more regular. Our cities, as employers, set a very poor example in this respect to private employers. A large percentage of this part-time employment, on the part of the municipality, as our experience in Philadelphia has demonstrated, can be done away with.

Where the greater part of the work of an establishment is

[1] "American Labour Legislation Review," Vol. IV, No. 2, publication 25, p. 323.
[2] Kenworthy Employment Co., Wichita, Kansas, November 21, 1914.

complex, it hardly ever happens that we have for each employee just the right amount of work of the kind he or she is best qualified to perform. Too frequently this condition is allowed to cause a break in employment. In fact, this is probably the principal cause of lost time for those having so-called regular employment. Under scientific management this great cause of economic waste can be cut out, very largely, through teaching employees how to do more than one thing at least reasonably well. There should be more elasticity in the possible shifting of workers from one department to another in the same factory, so that an employee is not being laid off in one department while a new one is being hired in the adjoining department.

In front of a large clothing house in Philadelphia there is a bulletin board on which the concern is constantly making known its wants as to workmen and workwomen. Recently it read:

Ticket girls	Feller hands
Sewers	Canvas Basters
Girls	Pressers
Edge Basters	

It is probable that this condition is due to a combination of the unconscious lack of scientific management and the conscious desire for a large labour reserve. Obviously all the operations called for on this schedule are so simple as not to require any segregation by trades. Under even a relatively crude type of factory management it should be possible to teach workpeople of average ability in a very few days, if not in a very few hours, to perform any of these operations.

Col. A. E. Barter, formerly Superintendent of the Plimpton Press, Norwood, Massachusetts, wrote me, in regard to his devices for reducing unemployment, as follows:

A convenient mechanism which assists in this work is an expense charge which we call "retainers." In case we have a high-priced

employee and give him work of a somewhat lower grade than that which he is accustomed to perform, our cost-keeping system permits us to charge the excess up to "retainers," which latter is then spread as a general business expense over the whole product. We use the same accounting device for taking care of the superannuated employees who are no longer able to compete in the matter of output but the question of whose discharge cannot be considered.

Among the causes of unemployment which may be almost entirely counteracted by the efforts of the individual employer are:

1. *Seasonal demand.*

(a) Calendars, for instance, are usually wanted for delivery in December. It is generally customary to increase, periodically, the finishing-room staff, beginning late in the summer. Four girls put on for one month in December require four times as much room as one girl put on September first—and four times the teaching. A minimum of planning and routing on this class of work has proved that so much of it can be done during the late spring, summer, and early fall, that very little increase in the force is absolutely necessary.

(b) Again, the demand for shoes is largely a question of seasons. As a result of a study of the employment problem, one large shoe plant, doing a business in the neighbourhood of $15,000,000 annually, had not varied its daily output by more than 1 per cent. over a period of several years just prior to the War.

(c) School books are usually required in late August and September. Under scientific management one factory has worked out arrangements with its customers and planned its manufacturing so that nearly all overtime in the so-called "rush season" has been cut out. Formerly a large number of the employees worked until 10 P. M. during the six hottest months of the year.

2. *Intermittent character of work.*

(a) The work of stevedores, incident to arrival and de-

parture of vessels, could be regularized to a large extent by a central agency acting for several different companies. The necessary periods of unemployment would thereby be greatly reduced, if not almost entirely removed.

(b) The mailing of monthly publications is another example of this class of work. Our largest periodical publishing house in Philadelphia only recently put a stop to laying off its mailers once a month by finding other things for them to do when not actually engaged in mailing.

3. *Rise and fall in demand due to changes in style.*

(a) The narrow skirts of a few seasons past threw thousands of women out of work. From the standpoint of scientific management this great change and its effect upon the labour situation should have been foreseen, and something planned by those leading this industrial army whereby the great distress caused by the change would have been avoided.

(b) One shoe concern maintains four men on the road all the time—salesmen who do not sell—in order to get the earliest possible advice as to impending changes in style and demand, that employment may be kept constant.

4. *Invention of new machines.*

One of the most enlightened labour leaders and most expert machine type-setters in the country told me that he walked the streets for nearly a year after the invention of the type-setting machine, peddling groceries, and sometimes making less than $10.00 a week This happened until someone woke up to the fact that, having been a good hand type-setter, he could probably be taught to be a good linotype operator.

The following causes operate largely within the industrial establishment itself:

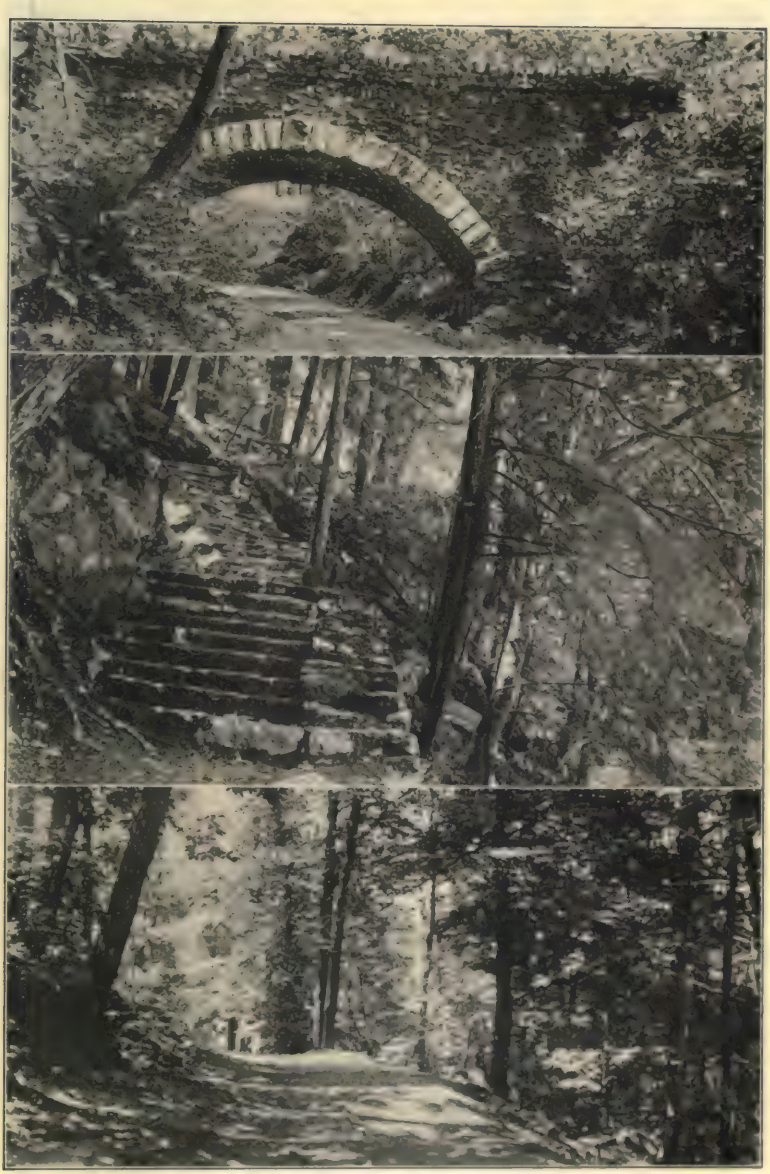
1. *Carrying a larger number of employees on the payroll than are actually needed.*

In the Kensington Textile district of Philadelphia this appears to be the rule. An employer having a mill which,

when running full, might require 500 hands will carry 450 on the payroll but give work actually to but 400. This means that, on the average, 50 are kept reporting for work and are told to come back to-morrow or next week. Since the most valuable hands would quit if they were treated in this way, it usually happens that it is the least efficient and lowest-paid men who get the unsteady work, thus adding to their demoralization. I am informed that the intermittance of employment is so usual in this district that it has had the effect of making hundreds of men living there really incapable of continuous work. Such is the natural result of the employer's desire to hold as large a labour reserve as possible. The conditions which led to the Lawrence strike were very largely of the same nature except that in that instance there was a whole town in which more men and women were housed than could possibly be given work under any set of conditions which might reasonably be expected to occur.

2. *Frequent changes in standard production, according to volume of orders in sight.*

A remarkable instance of this is an eastern locomotive-building concern which, on two occasions within the last ten years, has laid off more than 75 per cent. of its force almost overnight. On January 1, 1908, this concern employed over 19,000 men, and six weeks later had less than 8,000, and these were working half time. No industrial community can absorb such peaks of labour supply, no matter how efficiently it may be organized. I never understood how this could occur until I was told that for years this establishment has regulated the number of its employees by the total volume of business booked so many weeks ahead. Running a manufacturing plant of the size of this one is too big a job for the application of such simple arithmetical rules. Such methods smack too much of acquiescence in what is handed to you —too little of that type of optimism which, as President



THE WISSAHICKON RAVINE
A wooded glen included in Philadelphia's park system

BOY SCOUTS GIVING FIRST AID
Independence Hall in the background

A CORNER IN OUR
CITY HALL COURT YARD

"A cinder patch transformed into a field of waving green

Grading and planting done by city workmen. Total expense less than $200. Planned and executed as a "surprise" for the City Forrester away on a vacation.

GREEN GRASS VERSUS CINDERS

Wilson says, "makes an opportunity out of every lemon." An army of 19,000 men has a right to demand more resourcefulness on the part of those in command. The time will come when public opinion will force resignations from the inefficient leaders of an industrial army just as it does from those who fail the nation in military enterprises.

3. *Lack of balance between different manufacturing departments.*

This is altogether a problem in scientific management both of selling and manufacturing.

4. *Lack of stock.*

Frederick W. Taylor developed, fully twenty years ago, what has since become the standardized and fairly uniform practice of dozens of establishments in the matter of purchasing, receipt, and storage of materials. Delays due to no stock or the wrong stock have been practically eliminated.

5. *Stock-taking.*

I am constantly hearing of concerns in all parts of the country which stop all operations to take an inventory. Most of our Philadelphia textile mills lose from one to two weeks a year taking stock. One is reminded of Lincoln's story of the steamboat which had to stop every time it blew the whistle. Stock-taking of this kind should be, of course, a thing of the past.

6. *Lay off because employee has earned more through piece rate than regular weekly wage.*

If Molly Brown happens to be rated as a nine-dollar-a-week girl and also happens by Thursday night to have earned $9.30 through having what are called "fat" jobs, she is frequently laid off by the forelady. Or, if the necessities of the work allow a so-called eight-dollar-a-week girl to earn $16 in one week, she is very apt to be told to stay at home the next week so that for the two weeks she will average her regular wage. This is the means frequently used by those in charge to maintain

respect for inequitable piece rates. I have never known a factory using piece rates where this device, in some form, is not practised. The only relief is a scientifically determined wage scale.

There are also many causes of unemployment for which the employee is principally or altogether responsible, such as:

1. *Coming in late.*

By issuing late slips and making everyone who comes in late give a full, even if inadequate, reason, this habit can be gradually cut out. Raising the general efficiency of the individual employee has a beneficial effect.

2. *Illness.*

(a) High wages and the type of discipline that goes with scientific management invariably improve the health standard. A regularly employed shop nurse can help a great deal in this matter. One shoe concern some years ago figured the total expenses of its shop nurse at sixty-seven cents per employee per annum. Concerns too small to have individual shop nurses can share one, each paying a pro-rata share of the expense. Thus, in Walpole, Massachusetts, four small concerns employ a nurse in common.

(b) A "booze fighter" coming in on Monday and deciding, about 9 A.M., that the factory is no place for him, can usually be put back to work by the nurse after a good dose of aromatic spirits of ammonia. The man gets his wages, his family is spared the disgrace of his return, and the employer keeps his machines going.

3. *Home conditions.*

A good social worker can keep many men at work by straightening out all sorts of home tangles, which, through her experience, she is able to handle with precision and efficiency.

4. *Incompatibility as between two employees. Sometimes a foreman is concerned.*

One disciplinarian for the entire establishment, as advocated

by Mr. Taylor, soon does away with the necessity for much disciplining. Admiral Benson, when the operating head of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, insisted that the case of every man who voluntarily left the service of the yard should be investigated. He held that it was almost an insult to have a man willing to retire voluntarily from the service of Uncle Sam. Such departures were usually the result of friction or misunderstandings.

Mr. John F. Kavanagh, of the New York Civil Service Commission, has suggested, in the *American City*, that the permanency of employment could be increased in many occupations if private employers had access to civil-service "eligible lists." The persons whose names appear on these lists have been examined in a more or less efficient manner, and their ability has, to that extent, been determined. Especially for the great army of clerical help, and to a less degree for professional and scientific men, it would seem that a wide application of this principle would lessen to a considerable degree the number of unnecessary exchanges of help among business concerns. Such a scheme would aid in the distribution of skilled labour throughout the country. It might also help to raise the general standard of those presenting themselves for civil service examinations.

A very primitive philosophy of salesmanship seems to be at the bottom of a good deal of unemployment. Of genuine vision as to finding markets and distributing product we have had almost none. Mr. Farrell of the Steel Corporation, Mr. Ford of automobile fame, and the shoe manufacturing concern to which I have before referred, suggest possible progress in the future. The selling end, for some reason, has had too much authority in most concerns as compared to that given to the manufacturing end. If orders so accumulate that normal production in a given period must be increased by half, the selling force expects the manufacturing end to be resourceful

enough to cope with the situation. Almost a minimum of effort, however, is made by the salesmen of most establishments to secure orders so that the peaks of demand for deliveries are evened off and manufacturing is thereby assisted. Salesmanship has too frequently meant only selling to unwilling buyers or the securing of undue margins of profit. No great business, of course, can be built on such policies.

Attention should also be called to the fact that the separation of the selling and manufacturing ends of a business makes for unemployment. "We are not sellers, we are the manufacturers. That's enough for one concern." As long as the manufacturer is content to sit and take whatever orders are handed him and whenever they choose to come, he is disregarding his power to regulate production by regulating demand, or at least to plan ahead against known irregularities in demand, so that production will be regular. Moreover, in those cases in which the manufacturer has placed all the selling in the hands of one agent, that agent usually sells the goods under his own brand. The agent, therefore, dominates the manufacturer. Agents in this position "lie down" when hard times appear. As a result the production curves of firms who have deeded away the control of their selling drop much more quickly when hard times occur, they go down further and come up more slowly. The manufacturer who "farms out" his selling does not have his ear to the ground. He is slow to readjust himself to changes in demand.

The lost control of the selling contributes to irregular employment in yet another way. Since the agent sells under his own brand—not the manufacturer's—he can, without inconvenience to himself, divert to Manufacturer *B* the orders that he is giving to Manufacturer *A*. Manufacturer *A's* whole trade is gone and serious unemployment results before he can readjust himself.

Such experience as I have had suggests definitely that a

decided business advantage accrues to those who pay high wages and give continuous employment. To make such policies pay dividends, however, requires men who have not only brains and vision, but those to whom effort and struggle are inseparable factors of any successful industrial régime.

Not all the moves on the industrial chess board are indicated by money considerations. Even the so-called "economic man" is, in these days, taking on some human qualities. Indeed we are beginning to realize that there are possibilities for romance even in our factories. And both the employers and the employed are more and more going to become interested in this adventure as science and mutuality of interest point out the way.

Could not the director of a City Industrial Bureau, with such facts and principles as these in mind, make the city in truth an ally to industrial progress? When considering the effects which the irregularity of production, as practised by the average American manufacturer, has upon his workers, we are reminded of the wholesome advice of our good friend, William Penn:

And truly they ought to expect no Pity in their Fall, that when in Power had no Bowels for the Unhappy.

A CITY PLANNED FOR INDUSTRIAL COMPETENCY

The industrial competency of our cities can be no better than we plan for it. Are our city's factories to have quick access to railway and water lines?—belt-line railways must be designed and built. Are the city's streets to meet the city's needs?—there must be direct arteries for heavy traffic and special streets for light and swift traffic.

The weakest point in our national transportation system is the lack of a proper coördination of water and steam routes. Our waterways are important, not only as competitors for

rail lines in securing lower rates and better service, but also in order to keep open to our city markets the agricultural and producing sections more readily accessible to water-routes. Our national government has spent millions in the development of water channels. But channels alone do not mean that boats are plying on them. Of as great importance as the channel itself are adequate water-terminal facilities. But our water terminals are inadequate, and our harbours ineffectively organized. For greater national efficiency and for lower distribution costs, civic attention must be focussed more and more upon cheap, efficient water-terminal facilities, free from the domination of interested and competing concerns.

There are indications in several cities that control over water facilities is increasing. Since 1910 a number of cities, such as New York and Trenton, have increased their control and ownership over their frontage. Much yet remains to be done, however, to give our big distribution centres with water terminals free, well-correlated, and efficient distributing systems. For any inefficiency, waste, or duplication in these systems, the consumer pays in higher prices.

Of as vital importance as control of water frontage is the way this frontage is equipped, supervised, and operated. Terminal efficiency determines the efficiency of the carrier. Terminals must be equipped with wharves. Water-front warehouses—at present inadequate save at a few important ports—and cold storage facilities, are likewise essential in order that out-going local freight may be assembled in quantities sufficient for cargo loads, and that incoming freight may be assorted for local distribution. For the transshipment of freight between rail and water lines, transshipping machinery and appliances are essential. These, as a rule, are wholly inadequate in American cities. Such transshipping machinery and appliances are characteristic of German cities. Dr. Howe, in his recent book on "European Cities at Work,"

says of German harbours: "The harbour and the docks are owned by the city and are equipped with railway tracks, warehouses, and wharves to facilitate the handling of vast quantities of freight in the most economic and speedy way possible. This is characteristic of German harbours. The docks and warehouses and machinery for transshipping freight from vessel to vessel, or from water to land, are all under public control and are operated as a unit."

Since our entry into the War of course problems of labour and industry have been forced upon public attention. In every direction we find not only change and unrest but we find also a general spirit of apprehension. This necessarily leads to a desire on the part of our best citizens to do something to help the situation and to guard us against virtueless innovations and false leadership. This can best be accomplished by each of us struggling to see that in those parts of the industrial world of which we have cognizance that working and living conditions are such as to afford no proper basis for protest. This is a task worthy of the best efforts of the municipality and of each and every citizen.

CHAPTER X

SOMETHING MORE THAN A VOTER

SOCIETY has not yet determined the relation of mass action to government. It has been assumed that if we adopt the current suggestions looking toward state socialism all action by the mass or by the group will become that of the state and therefore that the boundaries of governmental action will not only be immediately broadened but that the opportunity for collective action without the government will be reduced—almost to a negligible minimum. This does not seem to me to be a possible outcome of present day tendencies.

The everywhere noticeable reluctance to extend the functions of government will gradually be reduced, as government becomes not only more effective but more truly and promptly responsive to public sentiment and desires. There can be no such thing as jealousy of the government in a true democracy. We can safely predict that, as time goes on, we will more and more freely entrust to governmental control those activities which we have determined to be for the public good.

The playground movement affords a good illustration of these tendencies. Before we have built up a dense population at a given point, and while each home is surrounded with ample areas for play, it is not necessary to organize to provide opportunities for play for our children. But with the gradual concentration of urban population there comes a time when the individual finds it increasingly difficult to provide areas for his own children, and he coöperates in some way with his

neighbours to get the needed space. Or, as it usually happens, someone entirely out of this district first detects the need and develops some kind of an agency—say a Playground Society—through which to supply it. In due course one or more playgrounds are developed. After a few years, under painstaking and enlightened private management, such a playground becomes not only a community necessity but is very generally recognized as such. The demonstration has been made by the private operators and they naturally expect the public, in whose interest the project was undertaken, now to assume the full responsibility for it. It is usually comparatively easy—sometimes after a few years of agitation—to get the city government to assume this responsibility. Of course if a playground is a necessity in one district other localities soon discover the same need. Out of the establishment of a number of such play areas the need is developed for a Board of Recreation or some similar general agency to take charge of all such work and to carry it on in the most advantageous manner. Instead of this being an exceptional method of developing municipal functions it will be found to be the almost universal method. The water supply, policing, the control of nuisances, for example, have each passed through quite similar phases before they became generally recognized as essential elements in the whole enterprise of running a city.

As time goes on, as our population grows and as its density in urban units increases, there is no possibility of ever reaching the point where we will be without the need for new municipal functions or for functions not heretofore recognized. Even the most casual study of the past reveals not only the never-ending, but the always broadening, field of municipal endeavour.

If we concede both the rapidly increasing multiplicity of municipal functions and the manner in which these functions originate through private recognition of a need met by private

organizations, and finally the gradual transference to the public control of those which secure public approval, then we have as an inherent element in all municipal growth a degree of activity on the part of the individual citizen which is not now generally recognized. Our citizens must be something more than voters. In the truly great city every man, woman, and child must take a hand in those municipal activities which are not in any way a definite part of governmental action and many of which for one reason or another may never become so. We have been assuming that if we could get every enfranchised person to vote and to vote intelligently, all would be well in the municipal household. As we progress mere voting will become only the routine of an educated citizenship. The real glory of a city will ultimately lie in the extent and character of private action, in the development of what may be called the trying-out agencies, in the broad vision which projects them, in the enthusiasm with which they are pushed, and in the devotion and sanity with which, year after year, they are carried on.

The very structure of democratic government, of course, is conditioned upon a conscientious use of the franchise by all the citizens. The failure of so many of our most intelligent citizens to vote, combined with the instructed vote cast by a great many more who are subject to control by the political boss, are certainly two of the major factors tending to undermine representative government in our country.

In spite of the obligation for individual voting, the best in this municipal field, as well as in most others, is not obtained by the registration of individual opinions only, but by organized action. The citizen's duty extends beyond the ballot box; it includes the earnest endeavour on his part, working with his fellow-townsmen, to influence others to the best in government and in civic development. As Dr. Clyde

L. King, of the University of Pennsylvania, has said, "The price for responsive government is citizen organization. The three essentials to responsive democratic government are:

"(1) Organization;

"(2) Organization;

"(3) Organization."

The political party is one outlet for the organized expression of citizenship. Such expression serves its purpose best in state and national questions, and to a much more limited extent in questions affecting the cities primarily. The most effective organization for the expression of civic needs is the well-organized civic body, whether a business men's association, an improvement association, a chamber of commerce, a civic club, a neighbourhood club, a boy's club or any other of the numerous forms which such organizations take.

More effort must be put into humanizing public administration. Those in official positions are apt to have the idea that the man at the top is in a position to tell the man at the bottom what is good for him. The fact that our country was founded and has been perpetuated on the contrary idea does not always keep us out of this error. Take, for instance, the movement which has led to the formation of large numbers of local business men's associations and improvement associations. This affords one of the very best examples of the present vitality of American public life. Our leading men should accept them as something that has come to stay and coöperate with them in such a way as to direct their activities into profitable channels. It seems to me that they afford the most promising agency through which, in the first place, the thought of the public on civic questions can be crystallized, and, secondly, through which that thought can be given expression in definite public action. I have found these associations ready and anxious to hear from men who had definite

knowledge on matters of public interest. It should be the attitude of every citizen who wants to play his part in the community, to affiliate with one of these organizations and to help to make it an influence. You can rest assured that the ward politician who is in public life for his own personal advancement is bending every energy to defile and degrade these institutions and to divert them from the high mission which they have it in their power to carry out. It is up to the forward-looking members of the community to make them strong enough and virile enough always to stand for the best.

We must as a people hold ourselves in readiness for very decided changes in all our governmental activities. Perhaps one of the first and most radical of these changes will come in the police force. The idea of the police force as a repressive agency must of course give way to a more truly constructive one. Such changes will come very slowly, if at all, if we put all the responsibility for them entirely on the police force itself. There should be more than one citizen agency in every city at work on this group of problems. Perhaps the recent creation in New York City, by Commissioner Woods, of a citizen reserve police numbering nearly 25,000 may have the effect of stirring up citizen interest in police problems.

One of the district captains of the New York police force conceived his duty to the community to extend beyond the detection of crime on his beat. The result was the organization of the Junior Police in his division. Uniforms were provided for the officers and scheduled drills are punctually attended by almost every member of the squad. This precinct of New York City has probably the most efficient police administration of the whole city. Imagine the constructive and preventive work that is done by enlisting a majority of the boys of an impressionable age in an organization of this kind. The membership of the Junior Police is limited because

of the lack of funds and other provisions for carrying on the work. It is sufficient testimony to the popularity of the work to say that there is quite a waiting list of boys who wish to join. The officer who conceived and worked out this idea is certainly deserving of the greatest praise from his fellow-citizens.

MUNICIPAL BOOSTING

"Don't knock—just boost" has come to be a popular municipal slogan. Especially in some cities in the Far West this municipal boosting is carried to an almost unbelievable extent. It is organized with a degree of care and to an extent not found in any other municipal activity. Unfortunately exact truth has not always been the guiding star of our municipal boosters and to that extent it has been a hindrance and not a help to the communities practising it. Within the last few months the Chamber of Commerce of an important Pacific Coast city has gone on record as believing that in the long run the city had been more hindered than helped by boosting. However, when carried on with a due regard to the facts, boosting would appear to be a municipal force of which we may properly more and more avail ourselves. If every city in the land would draft a set of claims which could be defended before a fair tribunal, and would publish it to the world, the result would be an increase in thoughtfulness as to those factors which constitute true municipal greatness.

Such city-wide organizations as chambers of commerce, city clubs, rotary clubs, and the like have unlimited possibilities for helping the city. The results depend almost entirely on their desires and their methods. Such citizen agencies can accomplish almost anything but only because they *assume* that they can—and act accordingly. Elections will not "just come out right" naturally; there must be effective organization to

accomplish results. Given a properly organized fighting machine, any bill providing for a reasonable civic improvement can be put through the legislature or city council. The old idea was that you must wait for things to crystallize. The real secret is organized action. We must *make* things happen.

The "Boosters' Club" of Fresno, California, a town of about fifty thousand inhabitants, is continually on the job for a better town. They not only plan but they organize a campaign in every instance that spells and assures success. Nothing succeeds like success, and the Fresno Boosters have certainly once again demonstrated the truth of the old saying. From a "Clean City," a "Visit Your Neighbour" excursion of two or three days, a "Public Christmas," and a few dozen other special activities to a continual energetic boosting of Fresno as a raisin centre, this club and its band make public boosting one grand carnival of successful achievement.

Frequently the chamber of commerce or other civic organization can guide a campaign and feel that they influence the result, although unable to claim full credit, apart from other organizations in the same town for swinging the improvement. The Secretary of the Philadelphia Bourse remonstrated when asked to name specifically the accomplishments of that organization for the preceding year, declaring,

> It is impossible for the Bourse, or any of the commercial organizations, properly to claim sole credit for the accomplishment of any work for the benefit of the city, as the plan of coöperation by the various commercial organizations and exchanges necessarily makes such accomplishments the result of combined work, although one or another of them may have started and taken a leading part in some one or another of the various activities.

Detroit's rapid growth during the last few years must be attributed in large measure to the activity of her progressive business organizations, and to their influence on the conditions

of municipal government. Detroit's population has increased by 63 per cent. in the last ten years, a more rapid rate of increase than is shown by any city of similar size in this country. Pittsburgh, during this same period, gained 18.2 per cent.; Buffalo, 20.2 per cent.; and Milwaukee, 31 per cent.

Detroit organizations work for their city. The reputation of the city for good government—efficiency in administration and economy in expenditures—attracts honest manufacturers and merchants. Business men who are not looking for special privileges, but for the square deal and good living conditions for their employees, will naturally establish themselves in cities having the best government. Mayor Pingree's efforts to promote good government in Detroit undoubtedly contributed to its recent phenomenal growth.

A healthy rivalry among citizen societies doing civic work is a great stimulus to their efforts. It puts everyone on his mettle, and often has a great influence on the results obtained. There is, however, unknown to the general public, a spirit of unhealthful rivalry which often creeps into these civic organizations, especially in our larger cities. Too often large civic bodies, as chambers of commerce for instance, backed by strong financial support, spend the major portion of their time and money calling attention to their own existence. They are too prone to advertise the chamber of commerce rather than the city whose interests they are supposed to be fostering. This note of our commerce chambers has at times rung clear enough even to be recognized by distinguished foreigners visiting this country. Baron de Constant, in his "America and Her Problems," testifies (p. 116):

> I realize perfectly that the innumerable receptions with which I have been honoured by all kinds of chambers of commerce, in all the countries I have visited in Europe and America, have been principally intended to impress me with the superiority of each chamber over all the others.

In every city, as in the nation itself, we find the problem of civic organizations either ossified or controlled by unseen influences. The unnecessary multiplication of such agencies is in itself regrettable. But there is, as a rule, no more efficient way to make some existing organization either become active when it has been inactive or become straight when it has shown a disposition to be either crooked or unduly partisan than to organize another organization with somewhat similar aims. At times this is the only remedy heroic as it may seem. One can always safely assume that constant efforts are being put forth both by partisan political groups and by big business interests to control, or at least to unduly influence, almost every civic agency. Eternal vigilance is the sole safeguard in this field as it is of liberty itself.

BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

Mayor Blankenburg, after a long experience in public life, addressed a large public meeting as follows:

> Let me say to you that there is no body of men in any community that can exert a greater and better influence for the public good than the business men, if they will. They have proved it on a number of occasions and they can and will again show their power for good whenever the occasion arises.

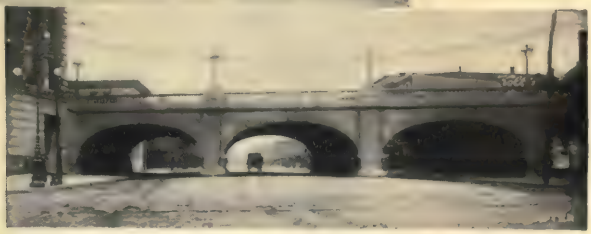
Very often the business men's association employs nothing but volunteer workers. This relieves everyone of responsibility, but the results are not so satisfactory as when the association pays one or more people to represent its interests and coördinate its activities. One such association, covering an outlying district of Philadelphia, has a special representative to follow up "kicks" and suggestions principally about the municipal service. During sixteen months he personally investigated 2,824 such complaints.

The Central Mercantile Association of New York City

In rebuilding Railroad Bridges improved designs have been insisted upon. Ugly plate, girder and truss bridges gave way to concrete.

Three Typical Bridges

Ninth & Springgarden (P.&R.R.R.)



Broad Street at North Phila. (P.R.R.)

Girard Avenue (P.R.R.)

BEAUTY IN BRIDGES

Three typical examples of the old and the new

THE ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY
Buffalo, N. Y.

pointedly demonstrated one way in which the business men of a community can assist the city government in attaining efficiency when—at the third annual presentation of prizes to members of the Street-cleaning, Parks and Public Works departments—thirty-three city employees of the lower ranks were awarded gold, silver, and bronze medals. Such recognition sends a thrill of endeavour all down the line. A photograph of Mayor Mitchel awarding one of the medals to a street-cleaner appears in an earlier chapter. In his address to the prize winners the Mayor said:

> If we are going to get the best work out of the men in the city's service, there must be the kind of citizen interest in the city's work that the Central Mercantile Association is showing to-day. The people of the city must evidence their appreciation of the faithful work of you men.

On the same occasion Borough President M. M. Marks pointed out that until the business men get in touch with government we shall never have good government. The president of the business men's association giving the prizes presided at the meeting. The 200 most efficient men, dressed in spotless uniforms, were lined up in the square waiting to hear the announcement of the prize winners, and the Street Cleaning Department band played while the Mayor was pinning on the efficiency medals.

Very often individual business men filled with genuine civic spirit are able to bring their city's virtues to the attention of those with whom they have business relations in other cities. One large private concern had the following announcement at the top of its letterhead:

> "Columbia is an educational centre—and more. Missouri University and five other advanced schools create a distinct local atmosphere. An ideal home environment is the civic crown of clean, courteous Columbia."

This particular Columbia happens to be in Missouri. I am not at all sure that this wide-awake business man is not helping his own business more than Columbia by his method. Good customers—the large ones—like to deal with human concerns. Everyone who receives one of these letterheads immediately decides that the owner of that business must be a broad-minded citizen, and just as probably a thoroughly trustworthy man with whom to do business.

A live business men's association usually acts as an effective adjunct to the city's inspection service. The condition of the streets, lighting, police protection, behaviour of city employees, and in fact almost everything in the catalogue of municipal activities comes in for comment from the men who make the city's industries and commerce and trade.

IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATIONS

Those local associations which admit to membership both men and women and which take up questions affecting the district as a place of homes rather than as a place of business are usually called improvement associations. They may be city-wide in their efforts or confined to some one locality or perhaps even to some one activity affecting the locality. Thus in Philadelphia William H. Ball, Chief of the Bureau of City Property, was instrumental in starting nearly fifty such improvement associations each with one small city park as the object of its interest. It is truly remarkable how many different considerations affect the usefulness of such an area and in how many ways the interests of those living in the immediate neighbourhood can help. In the districts where those of moderate means find their homes this interest may be confined to rendering help to the police authorities in maintaining proper order during band concerts, or in providing committees on arrangements, etc., for special festivities or for the encourage-

ment, especially among the young people, of greater respect for grass, flowers, and shrubbery. On the other hand, some of these associations in the parts of the city where the wealthy had their homes and places of business carried out quite extensive improvements. The Rittenhouse Square Association of Philadelphia spent $25,000 in the complete reconstruction of the small park for which it aims to care.

The Norwood, Massachusetts, Improvement and Civic Association thus explains its chief activities:

> The Association at the present time owns the so-called Corner House, which is its executive office and in which an eye clinic and a dental clinic are conducted for the inhabitants of Norwood. It owns, also, the so-called Civic House, which is a combined clubhouse and gymnasium for the town's inhabitants. The gymnasium is properly equipped and includes a swimming tank, while the clubhouse proper has reading rooms, an auditorium, bowling alleys, and a pool room. The Association also owns a model home, which has been set up to show how a home may be arranged and furnished at moderate expense. In this are conducted classes in homemaking, including sewing, cooking, and other domestic arts and sciences.
>
> Recently an old mansion has been acquired by the Association which is is to be turned into a hospital. For some years the Association has been doing district nursing and for this purpose has had a superintendent of nurses and four or five assistants, who have carried on their business without a hospital but have done a large amount of excellent work in the community.
>
> The Association maintains a playground. It also owns a lake and the shores about it, which may be described, perhaps, by saying that they constitute a picnic ground for the town. The lake affords bathing, boating, and, in the winter, skating.
>
> A woman is employed by the Association as physical director for women and girls and a man as physical director for men and boys. From October until the 1st of July classes in physical training are conducted for men and boys, and women and girls. Apparently, the Association is about to make an arrangement with the town by which the physical training and organization of school children will be conducted hereafter under the charge of the Civic Associa-

tion, subject, of course, to the approval of the Superintendent of Schools.

The Civic Association has heretofore furnished an excellent course of lectures or entertainments for the townspeople, the price of admission to which has been small because so many of the people have availed themselves of them.

CIVIC WORK

The great value of the civic club is that it "starts something" that the people's representatives will not provide for until they are "shown." Witness, for example, the following from the twenty-first annual report of the Philadelphia Civic Club. This part of the report has to do with free, open-air musical concerts which the Club has been providing:

When these concerts were begun in 1897, Allegheny Avenue Pier was chosen because of the distance separating this neighbourhood from the parks and recreation places provided for the more central sections of the city. With the march of events and of years, musical opportunities have come nearer and nearer to this part of the city and in 1914 it was felt that, with the Municipal Band giving concerts in the neighbourhood, the Civic Club could well leave the people's musical recreation in the hands of the City.

The City finally took up the work begun by the Club. Had it not been for their initiative, municipal concerts would probably have been delayed many years in Philadelphia. They simply demonstrated the feasibility of the plan.

The efforts of this civic club gave Philadelphia a Municipal Band which plays in various squares, according to a regular schedule, and another—the Philadelphia Band—which plays on the plaza of City Hall. Both bands play every evening during the summer months. Every Tuesday evening a regular printed programme is provided. The words of four popular songs are printed in each programme. The singing is led by one experienced in handling such open-air concerts. Com-

menting on this public singing and very effectively giving the spirit of these great gatherings, the "Spectator," writing in the *Outlook* had this to say:

For one concrete instance out of many that might be cited, it did the Spectator's heart good to hear the people in their regular Tuesday evening "sing" with the band of forty pieces, on the City Hall Plaza in Philadelphia. At the foot of the great 548 foot tower the people gathered, and the shadowy figure of Father Penn, with the tiara of light at his feet and the mellow effulgence of the great clock, seemed to bless the singing as it upsoared to him from the very soul of the metropolis that has grown from the "faire greene country town" he planted. The concert began with Wagner's "Rienzi" overture and Sibelin's "Valse Trieste" from the band, with a gay, harmless little jig tune by way of encore. The director of the singing had the voice of a very pleasant and friendly bull of Bashan and the unquenchable vitality of a Billy Sunday. He discovered that those who couldn't sing could at least swell the tidal wave of sound by "roaring like thunder," as the rule book of the Tyringham Shakers used to prescribe. Whether the song was "Old Black Joe" or "Annie Laurie" or "Lead Kindly Light" or "The Blue Bells of Scotland," he galvanized the most diffident into surprising themselves. "Now, let's have that verse again—and let's try what it'll sound like if the ladies sing and the men whistle." It is strange that even with a trifling discrepancy in time between the whistling obbligato and the soprano unison, there was an ethereal sweetness of sound. Birds of the woodland know nothing of the metronome, yet when thrushes warble their "native wood-notes wild" who complains of the *ensemble?* There are places where the asperities of professional criticism were better withheld.

During the latter part of the season as many as five thousand people take part in the singing each evening. In connection with some of the concerts given by the Municipal Band, dancing is arranged for where the asphalt street paving is in good condition.

The abatement of the smoke nuisance is another feature of the work of the Philadelphia Civic Club. The interest of

a lively committee assigned to this work results in acknowledged improvements in the cases of 353 plants in one year. The introduction into the offending plants of several money-saving methods of decreasing the volume of smoke, accomplished this splendid result, with the hearty endorsement of several well-known manufacturers.

Unnecessary noises is another subject demanding attention in the larger cities. Especially around the hospitals and schools quiet is much to be desired. The anti-noise societies generally succeed in having "zones" marked off by the police department, and then by their persistent watchfulness, see that the regulations are obeyed. This work was pressed with unusual vigour in Baltimore with the result that an anti-noise policeman was appointed. His special duty is to enforce the laws regarding noises. He keeps in touch with the zones of quiet, complains to the traction company about ungreased curves, and, according to reports, has given very satisfactory service. In Philadelphia a similar agitation resulted in having wood block pavements put in front of all school houses and hospitals. Some way should be found to stop the jangling of milk bottles during the early hours of the morning.

Another subject which demands the attention of our civic clubs is outdoor advertising. Laws regulating bill-board and other forms of outside advertising are very scant in most states and very poorly enforced in many more. The general method of attacking the nuisance is to give wide publicity to the law and warn offenders. Of course a most important part of the work in any such campaign as this is the educating of the public to new standards. At the present time æsthetics is not considered a proper subject for legislation. In fact, legislation against bill boards, on the ground of their being unsightly, would be unconstitutional. But already a movement is under way to "read æsthetics into the N. Y. State Constitution."

Then there is the work among the immigrants, the establishing of libraries, district nurses, clean-up campaigns, public concerts, and an endless number of other activities, undertaken and suggested, because of peculiar local conditions.

These civic clubs have frequently come out openly in a political campaign working for that party from which they are led to believe they may expect honest and efficient government. This special election work is generally undertaken by those societies which keep in touch with the results of the administration, and take issue actively at elections either for or against the party in power.

Work with the juvenile court is another valuable feature of the work of many of these voluntary citizen organizations. Societies doing this special work are known as juvenile aid societies.

UNIVERSITY COÖPERATION

The benefits of education and of useful knowledge, generally diffused through a community, are essential to the preservation of a free government.

SAM HOUSTON.

A number of our universities, especially those serving a mixed population, either entirely through their own efforts or through an association of interested citizens, conduct what are called extension courses at the university seat and in neighbouring towns. The University of Texas spent $45,815 on this extension work last year. The secretary in charge estimates that through all their extension work, including correspondence, they reached "considerably over one hundred thousand" people with these funds.

The free public lectures given by many of our universities, at times when the general public can take advantage of the

opportunity, has grown to be of great interest and service in numerous communities. Princeton and Columbia and many other universities, colleges, and schools, undertake such work for the public. The University of Pennsylvania, several years ago, instituted a regular Saturday afternoon lecture course as an integral part of its work. The lectures are given by members of the teaching staff and are open, without any admission fee, to everyone who cares to listen. A distinct problem is treated in each lecture. The subject matter may be depended upon to be the most recent in the domain of which any particular address is a part. The general public has responded in numbers reaching far into the thousands. These addresses have been published each year by the University. They present their subjects in an interesting fashion and, of course, may be depended on as up-to-date thought. During the academic year 1914-1915, the following were among the twenty-seven talks that made up the program:

"Is the Montessori Method a Fad?"

"Some New Ideas in Government."

"The Smoke Nuisance."

"The Monroe Doctrine and American Foreign Policy."

"The American Novel."

"Scientific Management in Educational Administration."

"Plant Life Seen Between Philadelphia and Atlantic City."

"What Is Electricity?"

The interest of our schools and colleges has in the past been too frequently devoted exclusively to the people "in residence" —those usually studying for a degree. More and more the interest of our educational institutions of all grades must be exerted in behalf of the community as a whole and of every individual member of the community who may be willing and able to devote an hour, a week, a year, or a lifetime to study. Any one willing to lend an ear should be considered as having matriculated. When this programme is fully

under way the school and university will not depend so exclusively on the regular staff's giving all their time to teaching. Part-time and specialty teachers will be increasingly in demand. Broadly speaking, any one who wishes to teach and who can teach, must be considered as a part of the teaching staff, even if he or she can only give a limited time to it. The time is coming when the whole community will be "in attendance" if not in residence at school, college, and university. Education will, in the course of a few generations, become the absorbing interest of the world, and to this great coöperative effort every friendly agency must be welcomed. The time is already here when, in every line of thought, the university should enroll as teachers men and women whose major activities may lie outside scholastic walls.

THE TECHNICAL SOCIETY

More and more our technical societies—local, state, and national—must consider community demands and community needs in framing their programmes. There will always be work which can be done better by them than by any officer of the government. The Commissioner of Public Works in Buffalo has recently asked the Engineering Society of that city to assist him in the preparation of plans for a proposed pumping station. The unpaid and volunteer National Board of Review for Moving Pictures is a national agency doing good work in a field of increasing importance.

As explained elsewhere in this book, the outline and plans of the work our department did on the grounds and buildings of Independence Square in Philadelphia were submitted by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. When the outside had been renovated and the time came to pay attention to the interior, we had again hearty coöperation, this time from the Society of Colonial Dames

and the Daughters of the Revolution. The ward politician who had been allowed the privilege of selling souvenirs in Independence Hall was asked to close up business at that stand. The pictures and other art treasures in the buildings were completely catalogued by our men in consultation with these two societies. The interest of these three organizations had a definite bearing on the life of the community. The result of their work was generally recognized.

When the renovation of Congress Hall was completed, the building was formally dedicated. The reopening of the building was attended by President Wilson and other distinguished representatives of the official life of the city, state, and nation. Plans for the restoration of the State House at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets are now being prepared under the auspices of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Too much credit cannot be given to this association of public-spirited professional men for their splendid and untiring efforts to restore this group of buildings to their original dignity and usefulness.

THE CITY AND THE CHILDREN

Even a child can be "more than a voter" to an extent too little appreciated by most of our city administrators. We have always found the services given by the children, when properly encouraged in an organized way, to be absolutely the best investment the city can make in the present, and a lesson of incalculable value for the future.

A close relationship was established between our Bureau of Highways and the school children through The League of Good Citizenship founded by Mrs. Thomas S. Kirkbride, to whom Philadelphia owes a debt of gratitude for a lifetime of usefulness and inspiration. A woman specially interested in the work was made a street-cleaning inspector in the High-

way Bureau, and the results obtained were very satisfactory. The children not only saw to it that they themselves gave no cause for complaint in making unnecessary work for the Bureau, but they did an immense amount of constructive work in advising others and in reporting delinquencies on the part of employees of the Bureau. These reports were aways received in writing, as for example:

Walking home from school a cat tumbled over a garbage pail and all the garbage fell on the pavement and street. I went into the house where the garbage was laying on the pavement and told the mistress of the house. She took a broom and put all the garbage in the pail because she knew that garbage thrown on pavements will make disease.

On Reed Street between Sixth and Seventh a woman put her ashes on the pavement in a broken box. When the man came around, he took the box of ashes and put the ashes in the wagon, then he threw down the box and all the ashes that were left at the bottom of the box came out and it made the pavement very dirty. The wagon was full of ashes and it was a wind and the wagon was uncovered and a lot of ashes blew on the street.

The children had the satisfaction of knowing that their complaints and recommendations reached headquarters, and that those considered worth while were acted upon. The League is in a growing and prosperous condition. Here is a group of future citizens who, in their interest for the community, will not stop at voting.

At the Arbor Day celebration in our squares last year school children of all ages participated with marked enthusiasm. It is possible to note the effect of these exercises on the attitude of the children toward our trees, and their general care of squares and parks. In the early part of the year we succeeded in getting the Boy Scouts interested in what was known as the "tree-warden movement." The boys were instructed in the various uses of trees and in their care in our parks

and on the highways such as the removing of moth eggs, and after successfully passing an examination, were awarded a "tree-warden badge." These awards were made in connection with appropriate ceremonies on Arbor Day, April 24, 1914. During the year, 376 tree wardens were enrolled in the first degree of the "Bronze Badge."

INDIVIDUAL INTEREST

Hundreds of instances come to public attention each year of individual citizens who have shown an unusual responsibility to their community. Hundreds more are doing unusual work which never sees the light of publicity. These represent some of the higher things in our city life. While a public official has an advantage in a great many ways of accomplishing good for the people he is serving, there are certain things which a citizen in private life can do to much better advantage. We note one suggestive case from Cleveland, Ohio. This time the "citizen" was a woman. The following account of her work to promote civic development is taken from an address of O. H. Benson, specialist in charge of club work for the United States Department of Agriculture.

Mrs. J. K. Turner, of Cleveland, Ohio, a well-to-do and a leading society lady of that city, directed a letter to the Department of Agriculture, and asked for suggestions as to what she could do, of a worth-while character, for the girls of Geauga County, Ohio, and wanted especially some information in regard to the girls' club work, which she had read about in some of the papers. She asked for and insisted upon the United States Department of Agriculture giving her definite help in getting this new line of work started in her county. She agreed to do all the work of supervision, organization, and encouragement, and furnish a liberal amount for prizes herself, if we would give the initial instructions in home canning to the girls and agree to furnish them the follow-up instructions throughout the year. This woman, without a dollar to reimburse her for several months of hard work, at considerable

additional travelling expense, as well as the expense of banquets, picnics, receptions, prizes, etc., organized a club of 126 girls. She not only organized them but visited every girl several times during the year, invited them to her home, gave receptions to them, and paid the expenses of a free trip to Washington for the four champions.

SOME RESULTS

Some suggestions as to what has actually been done by a few of the various organizations doing community work will probably be of interest. These suggestions were culled from replies to a questionnaire, and represent only a small fraction of the activities in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and in a number of small towns in the rural districts of Pennsylvania. In each case, among a number of other questions, we asked what they considered their most important accomplishment in the past two years. This was a very hard question for some of them to answer—they had been so busy. A few of the brief replies are listed as suggestive:

NATURE OF ORGANIZATION	CHIEF ACCOMPLISHMENT
Improvement Association	(a) Playground (b) Built a bridge (c) Rejuvenation of public park (d) Established a free library
Business Men's	(a) Placed bronze tablet markers on historic buildings (b) Coöperative store lighting (c) Secured paving for five blocks of new streets (d) More street lights and a playground (e) Old Home Week (f) Built a band stand (g) Auto fire apparatus (h) Recreation centre (i) Social Centre House
Civic	(a) Equipped a playground (b) Built a convention hall

(c) District nurse and a street sprinkler
(d) A public playground
(e) Supplied shoes to poor school children to keep them in school
(f) Domestic science equipment in high school
(g) Clean-up Campaign for the town
(h) Playground
(i) Work with Juvenile Court
(j) Secured a District High School
(k) A new school house
(l) Held flower contests. Mill workers with best exhibits given prizes
(m) Centralized charity organizations in the town
(n) Playground and "Tea House" for town socials
(o) Athletic Park
(p) School Gardens
(q) Removed 1,200 beggars from streets
(r) Established penny lunches in poor grade schools
(s) Coöperative Boarding Club for Business Girls
(t) A trade school for girls
(u) Supporting a consumptive colony
(v) Have a trade school for blind
(w) Aided American Red Cross
(x) Agitated for local option
(y) Americanize Italians
(z) Extension educational classes

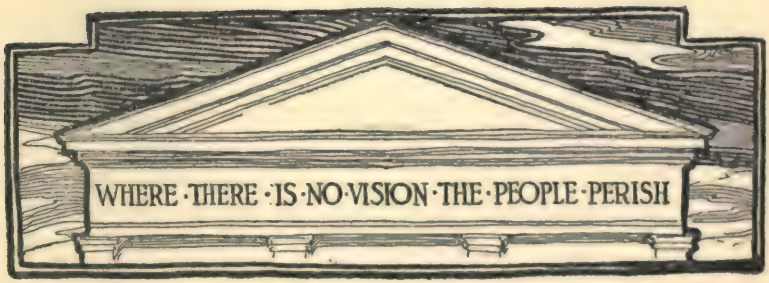
Woman's Club — (a) Established a public library

While activities such as the foregoing are primarily those of the private citizen, any public official is well advised to do anything and everything he can to foster them. In fact, a great deal of the most valuable kind of civilian assistance is impossible unless Government officials lend a helping hand, or at least provide sympathetic support. As a rule, such civilian agencies as have been described in this chapter should have an organization independent of the municipality with headquarters outside of the City Hall. At the same time, the officers of civilian agencies should be able to command the immediate interest of city officials in every effort to promote the public good.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP

I like to see a man proud of the place in which he lives. I like to see a man live in it so that his place will be proud of him. Be honest, but hate no one; overturn a man's wrong-doing, but do not overturn him unless it must be done in overturning the wrong. Stand with anybody that stands right, and part with him when he goes wrong.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.



CHAPTER XI

A GLIMPSE OF SINGING CITIES

THE operation of street cars and telephones, the housing of machine shops and department stores, the construction of mammoth port facilities are not the ultimate considerations either of municipal life or even of municipal government. In the past we have been all too prone to look upon great industrial activity or a comprehensive system of street railways or a commodious city hall as ends justifiable in themselves. Such developments are only desirable as they serve in the upbuilding of an efficient, happy, and liberty-loving citizenry. In the last analysis a city is simply an aggregation of homes and the object of each individual home is to be the source of the maximum of service and human happiness. Thus trolley cars and industrial establishments and the City Hall itself become accessories. And to develop beauty—in whatever form it may take—everywhere within the city, and art for happy homes, is after all the ultimate end and object of all this striving. If we piece together these high spots of fine living, and culture, and beauty wherever we find them in the cities of the world we can gain a glimpse of the urban life which the spirit of America is making possible. It is to the accomplishment of this great end that we seek to put down corruption and misrule and to exalt civic righteousness and to bring about the development of a municipal environment in which the happiest homes in all the world can be located.

As has been said in other connections in this book in making

Sopranos and altos to the right and left, and the male voices in the centre

Chapel of Lehigh University and the choir

BACH FESTIVAL AT BETHLEHEM, PA.

The Main Dining Room

The Grill

any effort to visualize the possibilities of municipal growth and development and to pave the way for it, two distinct currents of influence must be recognized. On one hand we have vice and corruption and poverty and the narrow point of view; on the other efficiency, self-respect, contentment, and vision. Progress means combating the first group while fostering the second.

The psychology of the attack on an untoward tendency is as important in civic affairs as anywhere else. In many cases an abuse should be subjected to an indirect attack. Some years ago, Mr. Edward Bok, Editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, became convinced that the conditions surrounding child life in Philadelphia were deplorable, leading to a very high infant mortality rate, the enfeeblement of the adult population, and to other equally regrettable results. He organized The Children's Federation—a group of prominent citizens and city officials who recorded themselves as being concerned in the matter and willing to help to improve conditions. Almost the first act of the new organization was the erection of a municipal Christmas tree in Independence Square as a token of interest in the children and love for them. It was so advertised and acted to establish the Federation as a constructive agency. It did not come on the stage as *against* anything but *for* the children. It has held this position ever since by seeking to coöperate with forces looking to the upbuilding of child life rather than through stressing its repressive contacts. Of course there are factors in modern municipalities which almost prohibit such a constructive attack. The extermination of flies and mosquitoes, the abolition of saloons, bawdy houses and privy vaults, the purification of the water supply are matters so obviously necessary that no self-respecting community need apologize for maintaining an incessant and direct and energetic attack on them.

But whether our efforts toward improvement are indirect

or direct the first move toward a city in which as Tom Johnson expressed it "children sing in the streets" must be a frank taking of stock and a listing of those factors and conditions which must be obliterated before the new day can dawn. Perhaps at the very top of any such list must be placed the abolition of poverty. Nobody can be happy if hungry, or poorly clad or indecently housed. Especially in a nation like ours, possessing great stores of natural resources and these for the most part untouched, there can be little excuse for poverty anywhere. But ignoring for the moment our national wealth and considering nothing but the inherent possibilities of most industrial communities science has shown the way through which a city with no special advantages as to location or natural resources can prosper if intelligence and foresight and coöperation are brought into play. Under any such dispensation the industries of a city must be looked upon as not altogether the private possessions of those who own their securities or of those who at any given time control the management. Any such industry has a distinct responsibility toward the community in which it is located which lays upon it very definite obligations. In the long run a manufacturing establishment which through any cause such as inefficient or short-sighted management fails to pay "living wages" or provides unduly intermittent employment to the workers is a handicap and a menace to the city, state, and nation in which it is located. This is a moderate statement. It is becoming true that industrial establishments which are not so ably managed as to be able to pay high wages and to surround labour with every proper safeguard find it increasingly difficult to compete in the markets of the world.

If necessary, social pressure must be brought to bear on any manufacturer who refuses to recognize and act in proper fashion. In this matter as in everything else reasonable publicity is our greatest safeguard. The day is not far dis-

tant when it will be as unthinkable to maintain secrecy about either the payroll or the sanitary arrangements of a manufacturing plant as it is now to conceive of a public school system shrouded in mystery.

In my opinion liquor and a dying industrial régime have been principally to blame for poverty in this country. Given a "dry town" perhaps the next greatest step that can be taken toward abolishing poverty is in that democratization of the industries under which their owners will not only come to appreciate the character and extent of society's interest in their conduct but will see in this interest a force making both for efficiency and stability. Fortunate indeed are cities blessed with leaders of both capital and labour who will press toward such an accomplishment with the maximum of sympathy and respect for each other's difficulties and point of view.

In forging the weapons with which to protect the freedom of the individual, we Americans, in common with all liberty-loving people, have made full use of those mechanisms of government variously called Bills of Rights, Declarations of Independence, Constitutions and Charters. Periodically we gather our representatives together to reframe these instruments so that they shall, on the one hand, more and more comprehensively state what we take to be the power of the people, and on the other more and more efficiently make such delegations of this power as under varying conditions may seem to be advisable. After all, such documents concern themselves for the most part in staking down progress already made and guarding it against counter-attacks whether from those who in the process have lost power or from those who never having had power seek to cut more corners in securing it than the experience of the race suggests to be good tactics.

But with the growing recognition of the right and power of the people to rule perhaps we can look forward to the time when less stress will be placed upon its enunciation in charters

and constitutions and more on a statement of what it is proposed to do under such instruments. This is but another phase of the broad principle that we are not interested in the form, structure, or fabric of government except as it leads to and influences action.

One measure of both culture and efficiency lies in our ability to foresee the future and within certain limits to control it; to minimize in its tendencies what seems harmful and to accentuate every factor that makes for benefit. In our political platforms, outlining as they do public policies which should be advanced or deprecated and public activities which should be avoided, do we not find the suggestion of a mechanism capable of considerable development in this municipal field? I believe we can confidently look forward to the time when we shall periodically bring together men representing every phase of civic activity, who, commissioned for that purpose by the voters, will outline in broad fashion plans for the future as to education, health, recreation, finance, taxation, industry, and the general public welfare. Obviously such a gathering of civic notables—each presumably a leader in his chosen line of activity—should confine its attention to the discussion of projects and policies requiring years, even a generation or two for their execution. Of course it is not altogether a question of the time required for a given project but of its relative size. Perhaps before we can avail ourselves of this type of prevision and comprehensive thinking we shall have to wait until Mr. Average Citizen cares less about the location of a particular gas lamp with respect to his own front door and the appointment of minor city officials and more about an adequate fiscal system, a low death rate—or rather a high health rate—and a "home city" commanding respect wherever decency and fine living are esteemed.

Let us take the one question of public health with which to illustrate this suggestion. If a body of competent and vari-

Auditorium

Lounge

THE BOSTON CITY CLUB

BLOOMS IN FAR-AWAY JAPAN

Typical views in cities where the cherry, the iris, and the wisteria grow in profusion

ously qualified citizens of the City of Newark, New Jersey, should be brought together under commission from the citizens to report as to a ten-year programme their findings might easily lead to a cut of one half in the death rate at the end of that period. This result would be obtained through a course of action almost impossible under our present system of annual appropriations and short-term planning. After all growth and accomplishment come to those having some vision of what is possible.

"Whosoever may discern true ends here shall grow pure enough
To love them, brave enough to strive for them
And strong enough to reach them, though the roads be rough."

It certainly would be interesting to see some above-the-average community like Independence, Kansas, Rochester, New York, or Newton, Massachusetts, work out the experiment of formulating a 10 to 20 year programme of municipal activity and progress.

Fortunate indeed is a city which has a tradition! Some record of noble living or brave dying for deathless causes through which the enthusiasms of youth are more easily enlisted on the side of civic ideals. Whether we recognize such a tradition or not everything possible should be done to cultivate atmosphere and personality about our city. "My City—is there anything more beautiful than that to speak of? You speak of 'my father' and 'my mother' in terms of endearment. Do the same in speaking of the city. If you do, Philadelphia is assured of being the greatest city in the country," said Rudolph Blankenburg, Philadelphia's great mayor.

Graduates of the College of the City of New York are presented on their Commencement Day with the Arms of the City and at the same time the following oath is administered:—"We will never bring disgrace to these Arms by any act of

dishonesty or cowardice. We will never desert our suffering comrades in the ranks. We will fight for the ideals and sacred things of the City, both alone and with many. We will revere and obey the City's laws and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in those about us who are prone to set them at naught. We will strive ever to do our whole duty as citizens; and thus in all these ways to transmit this City not only not less but greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

We make at times almost too much of a fetish of our loyalty to other human institutions. We cannot direct too much interest toward "My City" if here on this continent we are to develop municipalities which will mean to our day and generation what Florence meant to Dante and what Athens symbolized to all Greece.

Do you hear the call of the city,
  Do you mark how the men reply?
Thousands and hundreds of thousands,
  The throngs are hurrying by.
And those who have failed are many,
  And many are those who have won;
But the most of all the thousands
  Are the men who have just begun.

For "youth" is the call of the city
  And the strong young men come forth
From the cheer of the Southern plantations,
  From the desolate farms of the North.
From the old New England homestead,
  From the lonely ranch in the West,
They bring their strength to the struggle,
  They offer the city their best.

They give their youth and vigour
  In eager sacrifice;
And out of the stress of their toiling
  Shall the City of Beauty arise.

They are worn and spent with labour;
They are tossed aside again;
And the city is calling, calling,
For the lives of other men.

A city is not simply an aggregation of bricks and mortar. If our cities are to be worth having and if they are to inspire future generations to nobler modes of life, they must more and more be places of ideas, ideals, and of dreams; places of association with all the past; and places of struggle and achievement through which the weaker are made strong and the strong are made generous and serviceful.

Fortunately it is not necessary to await future developments in order to visualize a beautiful city filled with prosperous folk, leading happy and inspiring lives—a "Singing City." While we cannot find this all at any one place or at any one time we can glimpse what is easily possible simply by piecing together such bits as are of recognized value in the whole history of municipal development. It must be borne in mind that a result once attained can usually be duplicated by any community desirous of similar achievement.

The bed rock of consistent and continuous civic growth and development is beauty—a truly great city must necessarily be a beautiful city. The recognition of this fact is slowly evidencing itself in legislation regulating bill boards and the height and character of buildings, in the appointment of Art Commissions, in much of the work of civic improvement societies and in the architecture of our buildings, even of those devoted to industry. Ugliness is always a handicap. Beauty is a controlling factor in efficient living. Great results may be obtained in spite of a slovenly laboratory and a littered office. But this does not disprove the fact that genuine efficiency is as difficult of attainment in an unkempt factory as fine living and high thinking in a disorderly and ugly city.

Perhaps the most widespread effort toward beauty in our

urban life is represented in the movement to clean up, plant, and otherwise improve our backyards. In Dayton, Ohio, John H. Patterson secured splendid results by offering prizes for the greatest improvement in backyards as shown by photographs taken "before and after." The League of Good Citizenship of Bellefonte, Pa., has issued an interesting illustrated pamphlet showing improvements made in the backyards of that beautiful town.

Most American cities suffer from the blight imposed by street structures of various kinds, such as trolley poles, wires for various purposes, fire alarm and letter boxes and fire plugs. Almost no effort has been made either to minimize the number, to consolidate those which are necessary, or to bring beauty to their design. This offers an inviting field for American art. As a boy I frequently passed the Five Points corner in South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and an exceptionally drab and uninviting spot it was. Now this corner thrills the passerby with the following inscription on a drinking fountain of pleasing design: —"Drink, Pilgrim, here; and if thy heart be innocent, here too shalt thou refresh thy spirit."

The public park movement has made wonderful progress during the past 30 years in nearly all of our larger cities. Almost without exception a very great price has been entailed by the delay in providing such public breathing spaces. Our smaller towns should take notice and secure the needed ground before it becomes covered with improvements or for other reasons the price of the land makes its purchase for park purposes impossible. Among the smaller cities the public park system of Bridgeton, New Jersey, stands out as having made full use of existing features including an especially beautiful mill race. Among the parks of the larger cities the wildness of the Wissahickon Creek ravine running through the built-up section of Philadelphia is unique.

What represents perhaps an even more interesting develop-

ment is the public attitude toward the use of the parks. Going hand in hand with the programme for the acquisition of park areas we find provision being made for their use. They have become something more than mere show places and places simply *through* which to drive. A good illustration of this tendency is found in the fact that Tom Johnson while Mayor of Cleveland ordered all "keep off the grass" signs removed from the parks.

The development of our city park systems is simply one evidence of a more general recognition of the factor of recreation in efficient living. Up-to-date manufacturers in addition to securing to their employees more opportunity for daily recreation through the eight-hour day are making provision for annual outings "on company time." In some instances the outings themselves are organized on a coöperative basis so that the employees can get the maximum of rest and diversion with the least financial outlay. The climate and the mountain park lands near Los Angeles, California, afford the residents of that city wonderful opportunities for developing the romance of out-of-door living.

In this matter of the development of "The City Beautiful" half the battle is in assuming beauty to be inevitable. Under this system we challenge ugliness wherever encountered. For years we had acquiesced in a distressingly unattractive cinder patch as a part of the City Hall courtyard in Philadelphia. Then someone with a more enlightened vision came along and asked "Why?" The result was that in two weeks beautiful greensward had taken the place of the cinders and 100,000 people who pass that spot every day are refreshed and inspired by the result.

This questioning attitude as to the possibility of bringing beauty into all our activities led to marked improvements in the design of our bridges. We employed one artist in our bridge department whose sole duty was to seek to incorporate

lines of beauty into these structures. He took the contours of the land on either side of the place to be bridged and first worked out the treatment from a purely æsthetic point of view in broadest outline. These studies were then turned over to the engineers for the detailed drawings.

Of course we must not minimize the place which painting and the more classic expressions of art have in municipal development. Without art instruction and all the facilities which the development of drawing and painting technique require no city can hope to secure a genuinely artistic expression in the manifold activities constituting its life. Art is not something which can be grafted on. We must more or less intuitively give expression to it. Hence it is that ample provision must be made for an art gallery filled with good pictures, for instruction and training in art and above all for full recognition on the part of the public of those who bring glory and distinction to life through producing things of beauty whether they be paintings, bridges, signs, books, or buildings. But we have almost outgrown the old idea that a fine art gallery is in any large way significant of the artistic sense and appreciation of a people just as we have outgrown the idea that a white-tiled operating room is necessarily any index to the real worth of a hospital, or that a park through which those with carriages and automobiles can drive is on that account alone of any large value to the people as a whole.

The history of music at home and abroad is a sufficient index of the great part music is to have in the city of the future. Music even more than pictorial art has always been a possession of the people. With the spread of education, and especially of musical education, greater possibilities for the participation of the general public in musical enterprizes will present themselves. Elsewhere reference has been made to public mass singing. The war has given a great impetus

to this movement. Secretary Baker has been given credit for sending a "singing army" to France. It is a great accomplishment and one requiring real imagination. A "singing army" is necessarily an invincible army. The singing of patriotic and other songs by great assemblies of our citizens gathered for that purpose has been one of the inspiring and unifying forces growing out of our participation in the war.

If the so-called leisure class has been one of our problems its solution seems to be approaching with the march of events. Now apparently we have a master problem to take its place in the matter of the disposition of the leisure time of the great mass of the people which grows of course with the shortening of the working day. The development of our musical tastes and interests seems to offer a most promising feature in the whole answer. As an excellent example of what a large place music can assume in the life—not of a restricted class—but of all the people, the Bach music as sung by a great chorus recruited from the townspeople of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, may be cited. Dr. J. Fred Wolle, who for over twenty years has fostered this splendid effort, is not only a distinguished musician but an inspiring leader. An annual two-day Bach festival has been held in Bethlehem for a number of years past and to it music lovers from all over the country have been attracted in increasing numbers. The feature that is significant in this connection, however, is of the local interest and pride which have been engendered. Formerly the festivals where held in the Moravian church in old Bethlehem. In recent years, in order to accommodate the larger attendance, the singing has been transferred to the chapel of Lehigh University situated in a beautiful park on the wooded slope of Lehigh Mountain. There is much to warrant the statement that life in this new land rarely rises to higher levels than are symbolized and visualized by this rarely beautiful rendering

of the people's effort to express the work of a master artist like the immortal Bach.

Thirty years ago the average manufacturer felt that there was very little inducement to curtail hours of employment because as he expressed it "the more idle time the men have the more they spend on drink." Whether this was ever true or not it is no longer true. Under the influence of education and of shorter hours of labour as a people we are giving increasingly intelligent thought to the way we spend our time when we are neither working nor sleeping. To assist in this effort all sorts of organizations, clubs, and other activities have sprung up wherewith we can profitably and pleasantly fill our recreation hours. And those opportunities are becoming available not alone for the wealthy and exceptionally well-to-do. We are coming to realize that it is just and usually profitable to provide a variety of recreation even for those among us least able to pay in dollars and cents.

The Boy Scout and Camp Fire Girl movements are activities in behalf of the young people typical of this general tendency. It would be difficult to overestimate the advantages to municipal progress which might easily result from the guidance given to the youth of the land, and during the most impressionable years, through these two organizations. Valuable as may be the training which they afford in ethical conduct and responsibility to the public I consider the development of the capacity for healthful recreation even more so. People of all classes and all ages in this country need to know more about how to play.

The growth of such organizations as the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Y. W. C. A., and others of a similar character is significant. It is likely that as a result of the war the non-religious aspects of their work will be better understood. No city can afford to be without these agencies providing as they do so much that is absolutely needful and altogether

The Band

Night School

SAUK CITY, WIS., COMMUNITY CENTRE

Dance

Pageant

SAUK CITY, WIS., COMMUNITY CENTRE

desirable for the full development of young men and young women. The manufacturers in any community where there is no Y. M. C. A. should not lose a day in organizing a branch. We are entering upon an industrial régime where such omissions in the mechanism of fine living will not be overlooked by the industrial classes.

The Boston City Club is typical of a number of such organizations which can now be found in all the larger cities of the country. The dues charged are usually much smaller than apply in most social clubs. In building up the membership the effort is consciously made to recruit from different walks in life and from different kinds of business and with little or no regard for the usual social distinctions. These organizations have been very useful in developing a new kind of social contacts and in bringing together mercantile, professional, and industrial groups. In one City Club one of the qualifications for membership is that the applicant must in some way have served the city. Even to have held a "window book" on election day is considered such service. The Boston City Club is unique in having a membership of about 5,000 and a very commodious home, in which the dining facilities permit the seating of over 2,200 people at one time. This club has made a great feature of lectures on civics, travel, and other general topics. In Cleveland the City Club has quarters in one of the prominent hotels. This gives them a central and favourable location and avoids the necessity of building up an extensive cuisine only to have it used during restricted hours. The Club uses the hotel dining rooms and assembly halls for its larger meetings.

Labour organizations are now frequently provided with headquarters with club features which include practically everything which "old line" clubs had to offer in the way of recreation and amusements. The fine building of the Bartender & Waiters Union on 15th Street in Philadelphia and

the commodious office building of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in Cleveland are typical examples.

The Forum movement started some years ago through the Sunday night meetings at Ford Hall in Boston and ably led by Mr. George C. Coleman of that city has come to provide education and recreation for thousands. Their meetings are usually held on Sunday afternoon or evening and are largely attended. The programme consists of a little preliminary music, a talk of about 40 minutes on some subject of general interest by an authority on the subject followed by a general discussion. These Forums have spread all over this country and Canada, and are potent forces making for a better understanding between conflicting classes and interests.

One of the signs of the times is a tendency toward coöperative play. Street dancing is a regular feature during the summer months in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and other cities. One of our correspondents writes:—"Fresno, California, has held many dances in the public streets, and they have been overwhelming successes. The Fire Department usually cleans one or two blocks, according to the size of the celebration. Just before evening, we close these streets for public use, and keep them closed until the time of the dance, when we wax the streets, or put dust on them, placing our band in the centre of the block. We have experienced no trouble whatsoever, with our immense crowds, in the way of keeping excellent conduct. The people of our city thoroughly enjoy this form of entertainment, and coöperate in the proper spirit to make it very high class. We encounter no rowdyism or misbehaviour of any description."

Every foreign country has developed people's fêtes of local and national interest. In Japan different cities are celebrated for the beauty and luxuriance of certain flowering trees, vines, and shrubs as for instance the plum, the iris, and the wisteria. As the season for such trees to bloom arrives the

Japanese travel in crowds and great distances to enjoy them and the accompanying celebration.

As an illustration of the spirit of play in a small city there is given herewith a photograph of the Sauk City, Wisconsin, pageant—a series of entertainments in which a goodly part of the population participated under the influence of a well-organized Community Centre.

At the Christmas season some of our most beautiful festivals are centred around the Christmas legend. Almost every American city has some unique feature in its Christmas celebration. In the last chapter was shown a photograph of the decoration of the street lamp posts with Christmas trees at Fresno, California. These trees are put up several weeks before Christmas and the aroma of the fir everywhere throughout the shopping district acts as a suggestion for early buying. On Christmas Eve the trees themselves are distributed, under the direction of the police department, to those who otherwise would not have had them.

Perhaps the most unique Christmas celebration is that given annually in Union Square, New York City, where for a number of years past a committee acting incognito has carried on this work under the title "Tree of Light." The idea has been copied in over 1,000 American cities, many of which have added interesting features. The Tree of Light Committee (Address P. O. Station G, New York, N. Y.) has issued the following "Suggestions for a Community Christmas Tree and Celebration":—

Organization—Form a small Executive Committee, the fewer the better. Call it Community Tree and Celebration rather than municipal.

Try to avoid giving publicity to workers and subscribers and try to maintain the spirit of Christmas mystery.

Press—Take the newspapers in your city into your confidence at once, and they will aid by giving impetus and pub-

licity to the idea. They will do more if there are no suggestions of patronage or advertisement, and no names.

Finance—Funds needed are for tree, erection, lighting, bands, singers, and should be voluntary. Expenses can be minimized by donations. Subscriptions to be obtained from any source provided that no social, commercial, or political advertisement be attached to donation. Expenses depend on size of town and tree.

Tree—Try to obtain as large a tree as you can—if possible, from your neighbourhood, even a poor tree can be made to serve by inserting branches.

Erection—Place tree in most central open space in town. Nurserymen or builder can erect it. In a small town a permanent tree about 25 feet high can be planted. A temporary tree should be cut up after the celebration and the wood given to the poor.

Lighting and Decoration—Have nothing but lights of various colours on the tree with a star of white light on the top. This is most effective, less expensive, and stands rain or snow better than tinsel and other decorations. Where no electric current is available, storage batteries are obtainable at almost any electrical shop in your town or the nearest large town. Have the tree lighted every night during Christmas week ending with a New Year's celebration.

Music—Have as much singing as possible.

Choral—A volunteer choir should be formed from churches of all denominations, singing societies, glee clubs, etc., to sing a number of the best-known Christmas hymns and carols and ask the public through pulpit and press to join in. Children's choruses can sing in early part of evening. A special Community Christmas Carol Book has been arranged with the music and words of ten of the best-known Christmas hymns and carols. It can be obtained from the H. W. Gray Company, agents for Novello & Co., Lt., No. 2 West 45th Street,

THE TREE OF LIGHT
Christmas Eve in Union Square, New York City

MAYOR'S RECEPTION ROOM, PHILADELPHIA CITY HALL
Decorated for the New Year's Eve Reception

New York, at 10 cents a single copy, or 5 cents each for a hundred or thousands.

Music, Bands—A good band, if available, will add greatly. Have band music made up of popular familiar melodies. Have cornet and trumpet calls to the East, West, North, and South herald the lighting of the tree and the beginning of the celebration. Cornets, trumpets, or Diamond Disk Phonograph carol records can be used for accompaniment where bands are not available.

Let simplicity be the keynote and the real Christmas spirit be the moving power. Press clippings and photographs of your tree and celebration will be greatly appreciated by this committee.

Success to your tree!

In Philadelphia the Mummers' Parade on New Year's Day ranks with the Mardi Gras at New Orleans and the Veiled Prophet's fête in St. Louis in popular interest. The Mayor of Philadelphia holds a public reception in the City Hall during the two hours preceding midnight on the last day of the year. Thousands of people who have no other opportunity for personal contact with their city officials are introduced to the City's Chief Executive and Cabinet.

Perhaps none of our popular fêtes in this country have risen as yet to the level of such celebrations as are found elsewhere throughout the world. They are cited here only as typifying an element of great importance and promise in our American urban life. Such diversions warrant all the attention and thought which may be devoted to them.

This book was begun while our nation was almost too contentedly following the arts of peace. It has been carried to completion during the months when in common with millions of my fellow countrymen practically all my waking hours have been devoted to tasks imposed by the war. It is my earnest hope that it may not be without significance as a war-

time proposition. Had I not felt somewhat warranted in this hope I could not have justified devoting even occasional leisure hours to its completion at a time when our very existence is at stake. Good government cannot be disassociated from the rights of the majority. Autocracy must mean misrule.

As a people we were unprepared for war not so much because we lacked guns and ammunition, clothing, adequate storehouses and millions of men trained to arms but rather because we were not prepared even for peace. As a nation of individualists we hardly knew the meaning of co-ordination or the possibilities of coöperation. Our industry was operated virtually as two armed camps—labour on the one hand and capital on the other, almost refusing to take the trouble to understand the other's opportunities and difficulties. Perhaps nowhere has this lack of Preparedness been more noticeable than in the management of our cities. Preparedness as used here is clothed with all the fullness of meaning which vision and foresight and imagination can read into it.

For two generations municipal government has been almost a synonym for inefficiency, debauchery, greed, and short-sightedness. But within the last ten years there have been multiplying signs that we were not satisfied with things as they have been. We first noted with concern that Lord Bryce, a trained and trusted observer, saw in the misrule of our cities the most significant fact in the American Commonwealth. Philadelphia resented being called "corrupt and contented." San Francisco sent Abe Ruef to jail. Prominent figures in the field preceded and followed him. Civil-service propaganda and municipal research gave us some measuring sticks. A Brand Whitlock, a Tom Johnson, and a Rudolph Blankenburg visualized the possibilities of ability and integrity in municipal administration. Des Moines, Galveston, and Ashtabula have led the cities of the land in proposals for a more efficient structure for city government. Everywhere we

find at least a handful of good citizens pointing the way toward enlightened civic progress. The turn in the long and at times disheartening road has been reached. Notwithstanding all that remains to be done the cities of America are awakening. Even though the final victory is not yet in sight we begin to hear the steady tramp of the coöperating and coördinated civic hosts pressing the forces of civic misrule from one position after another.

What measure of benefit, it may well be asked, can this country derive through making the world safe for democracy if our cities, wherein are to be found upward of half of the population, continue in the control of a small minority fattening on the spoils of office, the ill-gotten gains of dishonest business, and the vice of the underworld? Surely our dead on the fields of France will have died in vain unless our cities can be made places where the weak and oppressed are protected and where industry and science and art are held in esteem and developed to the utmost. Only through the most careful safeguarding of its urban population can America continue to be the field of worth-while Adventure, in human life and thought.

In absolutely the same spirit in which America ca s her sons and daughters by the millions for military duty overseas so she calls them by the tens of millions for civic duty here at home. The two services require much the same type of devotion and sacrifice. The goal is absolutely the same—the enfranchisement of the human spirit. To this end this nation has been dedicated through the countless heroisms of the past and through a present-day idealism—both passionate and vibrant—of which our part in the Great War is but one evidence.

Where the wind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where work comes out from the depth of truth,
Where tireless striving stretches the arms toward perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action
Into that heaven of freedom, My Father, let thy country awake.

TAGORE.

"Friends, that sweet town, that wonder-town, shall rise.
Naught can delay it. Though it may not be
Just as I dream, it comes at last I know
With streets like channels of an incense-sea."

VACHEL LINDSAY.

APPENDIX

Because the movement for the introduction of city-managers into the administrative leadership of American municipalities is by all odds the most important present day tendency in this field the last official list of city-manager municipalities corrected to May 15, 1918, as furnished by the City Managers' Association is given herewith:

CITY-MANAGER MUNICIPALITIES

Note: By "Manager" is meant: "Any person who is the administrative head of a municipality, appointed by its legislative body." (By-laws, City Managers' Association, Art. 1). While endorsing the model commission-manager charter, the Association invites all bona fide managers to become members. Names of members of the Association are indicated by bold-face type. The letter "C" indicates that the position of manager was created by charter; "o," that the position was created by virtue of ordinance; "S," that it was created by ordinance specifically authorized by statute. Population figures are estimates submitted by the managers or obtained from census computations.

MUNICIPALITY	1918 POPULATION	PLAN	IN EFFECT	MANAGER	APPOINTED		SALARY
Auburn, Me.	17,000	C	Jan., '18	**H. G. Otis**	Feb.	'18	$ 3,600
Norwood, Mass.	13,000	C	Jan., '15	**Wm. P. Hammersley**	Mar.,	'18	3,000
Waltham, Mass.	33,000	C	Jan., '18	**C. A. Bingham**	Mar.,	'18	5,000
Newburgh, N. Y.	30,000	C	Jan., '16	**Henry Wilson**	June,	'16	5,000
Niagara Falls, N. Y.	55,000	C	Jan., '16	**O. E. Carr**	Jan.,	'16	5,000
Sherrill, N. Y.	1,500	C	May, '16	**C. A. Brown**	May,	'16	
Watertown, N. Y.	30,000	C	Jan., '20				
Altoona, Pa.	60,000	S	Jan., '18	**H. G. Hinkle**	Jan.,	'18	8,000
Bethlehem, Pa.	15,000	S	May, '18				
Edgeworth, Pa.	1,500	S	Jan., '14	W. M. Cotton	Oct.,	'17	2,400
Grove City, Pa.	4,240	S	Apr., '16	Edward Thomas	Jan.,	'18	
Towanda, Pa.	5,610	S	Feb., '18	**Wm. T. Howie**	Feb.,	'18	1,020
Charlottesville, Va.	12,000	o	Aug., '13	**H. A. Stecker**	Jan.,	'17	2,000
Farmville, Va.	5,000	o	Sept., '15	Leslie Fogus	Sept.,	'15	1,200
Fredericksburg, Va.	7,000	o	Sept., '12	**R. Stuart Royer**	Sept.,	'12	4,000
Norfolk, Va.	90,000	C	Sept., '18				
Petersburg, Va.	25,600	C	Sept., '20				
Portsmouth, Va.	40,000	C	Jan., '17	**W. B. Bates**	Aug.,	'17	4,000
Roanoke, Va.	45,000	C	Sept., '18				
Staunton, Va.	12,000	o	Jan., '08	S. D. Holsinger	July,	'11	1,800
Winchester, Va.	7,000	o	May, '16	**A. M. Field**	May,	'16	2,000
Charleston, W. Va.	30,000	C	May, '15	**M. J. McChesney**	Sept.,	'17	3,300

MUNICIPALITY	1918 POPULATION	PLAN	IN EFFECT	MANAGER	APPOINTED	SALARY
Wheeling, W. Va.	44,000	C	July, '17	G. O. Nagle	July, '17	$8,000
Elizabeth Cy., N. C.	10,000	C	Apr., '15	J. C. Commander	Apr., '15	1,800
Durham, N. C.	25,000	o	May, '17	W. M. Wilkes	May, '17	3,600
Goldsboro, N. C.	11,000	C	July, '17	E. A. Beck	July, '17	3,300
Hickory, N. C.	5,200	C	May, '13	J. W. Ballew	Mar., '16	1,500
High Point, N. C.	14,000	C	May, '15	T. J. Murphy	May, '17	2,700
Morehead Cy., N. C.	2,650	o	June, '17	W. B. Allred	June, '17	1,500
Morganton, N. C.	4,240	C	May, '13	W. R. Patton	Jan., '18	1,500
Tarboro, N. C.	5,100	o	Apr., '15	J. H Jacocks	Apr., '15	1,500
Thomasville, N. C.	5,000	C	May, '15	N. S. Mullican*	'17	
Beaufort, S. C.	,,700	C	May, '15	J. R. Kneebone*	Feb., '18	1,500
Rock Hill, S. C.	10,000	C	Jan., '15	J. G. Barnwell	Jan , '15	2,800
Sumter, S. C.	10,000	C	Jan., '13	E. S. Shuler	Jan., '17	1,500
Griffin, Ga.	10,300	C	Dec., '18			
Largo, Fla.	500	o	June, '13	G. J. Perkins	Mar., '16	900
Ocala, Fla.	5,610	C	Feb., '18	J. N. Johnston	Feb., '18	
St. Augustine, Fla.	7,960	C	July, '15	Eugene Masters	Apr., '18	
Ashtabula, Ohio	21,500	C	Jan., '16	M. H. Turner	Jan., '18	2,500
Dayton, Ohio	150,000	C	Jan., '14	J. E. Barlow	Mar., '18	7,500
East Cleveland, Ohio	23,000	C	Jan., '18	C. M. Osborn	Jan., '18	3,600
Gallipolis, Ohio	6,490	C	Jan., '18	Edw. E. Myers	Jan., '18	1,500
Sandusky, Ohio	21,000	C	Jan., '16	Geo. M. Zimmerman	Apr., '18	3,600
So. Charleston, Ohio	1,400	C	Jan., '18	P. H. Cheney	Jan., '18	1,400
Springfield, Ohio	60,000	C	Jan., '14	C. E. Ashburner	Jan., '14	6,000
Westerville, Ohio	3,000	C	Jan., '16	R. W. Orebaugh	Sept. '17	1,800
Xenia, Ohio	9,000	C	Jan., '18	Kenyon Riddle	Jan., '18	3,000
Cynthiana, Ky.	4,000	C	Dec., '15	Daniel Durbin	Dec., '15	900
Johnson City, Tenn.	10,925	o	July, '19	W. O. Dyer	July, '17	1,500
Kingsport, Tenn.	8,500	C	Mar., '17	W. R. Pouder	Mar., '17	3,000
Albion, Mich.	10,000	C	Jan., '16	A. L. Sloman	Sept., '16	2,000
Alpena, Mich.	13,300	C	Apr., '16	Chas. T. Park	May, '18	
Big Rapids, Mich.	5,100	C	Apr., '14	Walter Willits	May, '16	1,400
Birmingham, Mich.	1,500	C	Apr., '18	G. A. Abbott	Apr., '18	2,000
Cadillac, Mich.	10,000	C	Mar., '14	Geo. Johnston	Jan., '18	2,000
Crystal Falls, Mich.	4,340	C	May, '18	J. H. Sanders	May, '18	
Eaton Rapids, Mich.	2,400	o	Apr., '13	O. S. Yager	Jan., '18	1,500
Grand Haven, Mich.	7,280	C	Apr., '15	I. R. Ellison	Apr., '16	2,500
Grand Rapids, Mich.	150,000	C	Mar., '17	F. T. Locke	May, '18	4,000
Grosse Pte. Sh. Mich.	1,200	o	June, '16	H. N. Kennedy	Apr., '18	§1,500
Jackson, Mich.	45,000	C	Jan., '15	A. W. D. Hall	Apr., '17	4,000
Kalamazoo, Mich.	50,000	C	June, '18			
Manistee, Mich.	13,000	C	May, '14	P. H. Beauvais	May, '18	2,500
Otsego, Mich.	3,180	C	May, '18	H. A. McKee	May, '18	
Petoskey, Mich.	6,000	C	Apr., '16	R. D. Tripp	Mar., '17	2,000
Royal Oak, Mich.	1,200	C	May, '18	T. F. Older	May, '18	
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.	14,000	C	Dec., '17	J. H. Moore	Dec. '17	3,600
Three Rivers, Mich.	5,610	C	Apr., '18	O. O. Johnson	Apr., '18	1,800
Glencoe, Ill.	3,500	o	Jan., '14	H. H. Sherer	Jan., '14	2,500
Winnetka, Ill.	3,610	o	Jan., '15	H. L. Woolhiser	Oct., '17	3,000
Anoka, Minn.	4,300	C	Apr., '14	Henry Lee	Apr., '14	1,200
Morris, Minn.	2,300	C	Jan., '14	S. A. Siverts, Jr.	Jan., '14	1,800
Pipestone, Minn.	3,000	o	May, '17	F. E. Cogswell	May, '17	1,700
Clarinda, Ia.	4,570	o	Apr., '13	R. A. Wilson	Apr., '13	2,000
Iowa Falls, Ia.	4,000	o	Apr., '14	J. O. Gregg	Mar., '17	1,500
Manchester, Ia.	3,160	o	May, '16	Thos. Wilson	May, '17	1,440
Mt. Pleasant, Ia.	4,170	o	Apr., '16	T. W. McMillan	Apr., '16	1,530
Webster City, Ia.	6,000	C	Oct., '15	J. G. Long	Apr., '17	1,800
Bentonville, Ark.	2,650	o	Sept., '15	Edgar Masoner	Sept., '15	1,500
Hot Springs, Ark.	17,240	C	Apr., '17	C. H. Weaver	Apr., '17	2,500
Carrington, N. D.	1,875	o	May, '17	F. J. Beier	May, '17	1,200
Clark, S. D.	1,335	o	May '12	J. E. Smith	June, '12	960
Sioux Falls, S. D.	16,500	C	June, '18			
El Dorado, Kans.	15,000	C	July, '17	B. C. Wells	July, '17	3,600
Wichita, Kans.	70,750	C	June, '17	L. R. Ash	June, '17	10,000

*N. B. Resigned, successor not reported.
§Plus commission on taxes collected.

MUNICIPALITY	1918 POPULATION		PLAN	IN EFFECT	MANAGER	APPOINTED	SALARY
Collinsville, Okla.	2,500	C	Feb.,	'14	F. A. Wright	May, '16	$1,800
Madill, Okla.	1,700	C		'17	A. P. Marsh	May, '18	
Mangum, Okla.	4,770	C	Nov.,	'14	W. F. Hearne	Feb., '17	1,800
Weathersford, Okla.	2,400	o		'17	**J. C. Resler**	'17	
Amarillo, Tex.	19,125	C	Dec.,	'13	A. D. Armstrong	'17	
Brownsville, Tex.	13,180	C	Jan.,	'16	**W. E. Anderson**	Feb., '18	3,600
Brownwood, Tex.	10 500	o		'17	E. P. Low	Mar., '18	2,400
Bryan, Tex.	5,530	C	Aug.,	'17	J. W. Greer	Aug., '17	2,400
Denton, Tex.	6,830	C	Apr.,	'14	P. Y. Beyette	Jan., '18	2,000
Lubbock, Tex.	2,180	C		'17			
San Angelo, Tex.	16,500	C	Apr.,	'16	E. L. Wells	May, '16	2,500
Sherman, Tex.	13,670	C	Apr.,	'15	O. J. S. Ellingson	Apr., '16	2,400
Taylor, Tex.	8,200	C	Apr.,	'14	W. E. Dozier*	May, '16	2,600
Teague, Tex.	3,760	o	Jan.,	'15	E. B. St. Clair	Apr., '16	1,700
Tyler, Tex.	12,000	C	Apr.,	'15	Clay Hight	Apr., '16	3,000
Yoakum, Tex.	7,500	C	Apr.,	'15	Walter Lander	Apr., '16	2,100
Glasgow, Mont.	5,000	o	July,	'16	**C. H. Blitman**	Sept., '16	2,100
Boulder, Colo.	11,670	C	Jan.,	'18	**E. O. Heinrich**	Jan., '18	4,000
Durango, Colo.	5,300	C	Mar.,	'15	A. F. Hood	May, '15	1,800
Montrose, Colo.	4,000	C	Feb.,	'14	C. C. Smith	Mar., '18	1,800
Albuquerque, N. M.	14,025	C	Jan.,	'18	**P. G. Redington**	Jan., '18	4,500
Roswell, N. M.	7,070	o	May,	'14	A. G. Jaffa	May, '16	2,000
Brigham City, Utah	4,240	o	Jan.,	'18	C. O. Roskelley	Jan., '18	2,100
Phoenix, Ariz.	20,000	C	Apr.,	'14	**V. A. Thompson**	Jan., '18	5,000
LaGrande, Ore.	6,120	C	Oct.,	'13	Fred Currey	Jan., '17	2,400
Alameda, Calif.	27,750	C	May,	'17	**C. E. Hewes**	May, '17	4,000
Alhambra, Calif.	9,000	C	July,	'15	**F. L. Hilton**	May, '17	1,200
Bakersfield, Calif.	16,875	C	Apr.,	'15	F. S. Benson		
Glendale, Calif.	11,500	o	May,	'14	T. W. Watson	May, '14	2,400
Huntington Beach, Calif.	1,460	o	July,	'16	G. W. Spencer	July, '16	2,400
San Diego, Calif.	90,000	C	May,	'15	**F. M. Lockwood**	May, '15	6,000
San Jose. Calif.	40,000	C	July,	'16	**T. H. Reed**	July, '16	6,000
San Rafael, Calif.	7,650	o	Aug.,	'15	F. J. Boland*	Aug., '15	2,400
Santa Barbara, Calif.	10.500	C	Jan.,	'18	**R. A. Craig**	Jan., '18	7,500
Hanford, Calif.	6,430	o	Oct.,	'17	Jay Hinman*	Oct., '17	1,800

The following cities have been reported but the reports not confirmed as we go to press: Spencer, Va., Fremont, O., Columbus, Mont.

Any corrections or additions to the above list will be appreciated by the Association.—SECRETARY.

*N. B. Resigned, successor not reported.

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